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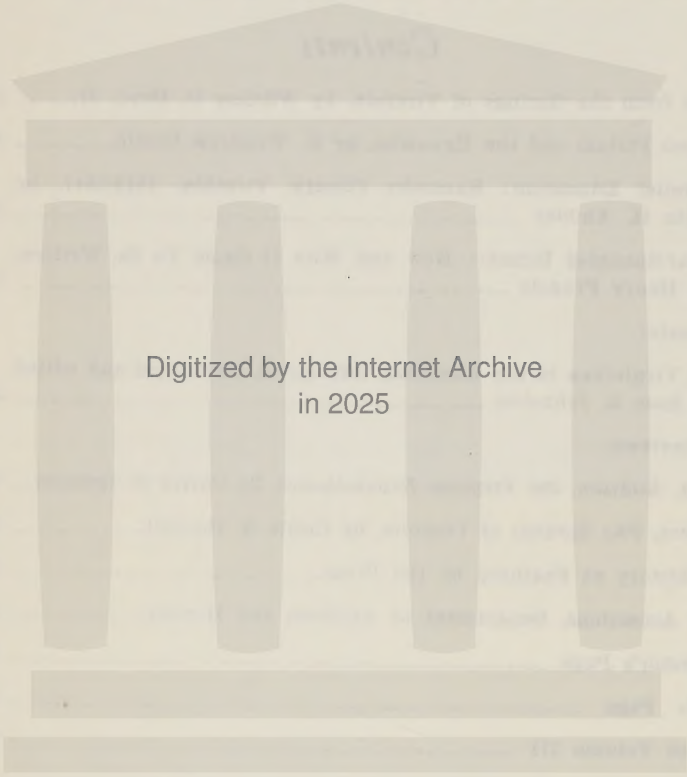

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Epistles from the Springs of Virginia

By William D. Hoyt, Jr.

The appearance of a full-length study of the history of the springs of Virginia[1] makes timely a series of letters sent from those resorts during the early and middle periods of their popularity. Written by different people at different times from different places, they nevertheless combine to give an excellent picture of life at the spas which played an important part in the social history of the nineteenth century. There are pen pictures of the springs: the difficulties of travel to get there, the crowded conditions at the hotels, the baths and the hopes for beneficial results, and the efforts to provide entertainment. There are vignettes of some of the visitors: the gentlemen searching for congenial companions, the ladies looking for new conquests and good times, the men and women seeking to enter social circles through contacts with the right people, the families moving in enmasse because it was the proper thing to do, and—by no means least, though definitely in the minority—the ailing individuals hoping to regain their health by frequent use of the waters supposed to contain healing qualities. Throughout there is a sense of restless movement, of forced gayety, which reflects well the atmosphere of the era of the springs.

I. Warm Springs, 1810-12.[2]

The Warm Springs, located in Bath County in a valley between ranges of mountains, was one of the earliest of

[1] Perceval Reniers, *The Springs of Virginia. Life, Love, and Death at the Waters, 1775-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1941).

[2] The two letters from Warm Springs are owned by Mrs. D. Ellwood Davidson, of Farmville, Va.

the resorts. It was well established by the end of the eighteenth century, and people went there "to steam the kinks out of their joints" long before other springs were discovered. Later, it became the pivotal spot in the regular Springs Tour, being the place where most visitors began and ended their travels. In 1810, however, the stampede had not begun, and J. T. Hubard, writing to his wife, Susanna, at their home in Buckingham County, described the pleasant and placid existence enjoyed by the sixty or seventy visitors, including several men of prominence.

Warm Springs, 21. August 1810.

My dear Wife

I have written to you twice since I left home—once from Nelson, and this day week from this place—these letters I trust you have regularly received. I have as yet recd. no letter from you, but ascribe the circumstance to the circuitous route the letters are obliged to take—so circuitous as that a letter from this to Caira will not reach the latter place earlier than next Saturday week and in the same way from Caira to this place.

I have regularly continued to amend, and have every reason to feel assured that my health will be firmly re-established in two weeks more—My present calculation is to leave this part of the country for home, about the 6 or 7th. of September. It would add infinitely to my pleasure, could I hear from you and our little boys—God grant that you may all have been well—and that you may continue in the enjoyment of health—I expect certainly to hear from you by the next mail which will arrive here on Saturday next—This day week I will write you again which will be my last letter as I shall be at home before a letter after that day's mail would reach you—Nor need you write to me, after you receive this, for the same reason—

There are sixty to seventy persons here, most of them genteel people—and as far as company can make me happy I never had a fairer chance of enjoyment— I have a very comfortable cabin a good fire—& bed and am near to Colo. Mercer,[3] W. C. Nicholas,[4] Mr. Fontaine Maury[5] & Peter Carr[6]—all gentlemen of cleverness and extremely agreeable in their manners & conversation—indeed I think Colo. Mercer among the first characters of the day— He is very enlightened, very fond of conversation & very communicative & agreeable— He was several years of late an

---

[3] Charles Fenton Mercer (1778-1858), member of the House of Representatives, 1817-39. He was in France during the settlement of the spoliation claims.

[4] Wilson Cary Nicholas (1761-1820), Senator from Virginia, 1799-1804, member of the House of Representatives, 1807-09, and Governor, 1814-17.

[5] Fontaine Maury (1761-1824), son of the Rev. James Maury (1718-69), and a prominent citizen of Fredericksburg.

[6] Peter Carr (1770-1815), nephew of Thomas Jefferson, a lawyer who lived at 'Carr's Brook' in Albemarle County, Va.

agent for our government in Paris in connection with your old acquaintance Wm. Maclure.[7]

We gentlemen appear to pass out time very pleasantly—but god help the poor ladies—they have once or twice scraped up a sort of a dance—but we happen to have no beaux here of the first water—most of the respectable gentlemen being married and somewhat like your humble servant, more inclined to chat or talk than to dance— Indeed I have been somewhat astonished at the sobriety of the place— Even the *black* les gamblers have been so awed as to never once attempt their practices since I have been here— Mrs. Dr. Moore and Mrs. Robinson from Petersburg will be here to-day and probably they may kick up a dust—

Kiss the boys and present my love to Sister & William.

Your affectionate husband.

J. T. Hubard

Two years later, in 1812, another husband wrote his wife from Warm Springs, commenting briefly on the crowd of "agreeable" people there. John Wayles Eppes[8] went to the resort for his health and he felt that he did receive some benefit from the baths. He took with him his son, Francis, the only surviving child of his first marriage to Maria, daughter of Thomas Jefferson. His second wife, Martha, daughter of Willie Jones (1741-1801) of North Carolina, and their children remained at the family home in Cumberland County.

Warm Springs Aug. 12th. 1812.

My dear Martha.

We arrived here on the 10th. after having been detained two days within eighteen miles of the Springs by heavy rains— On the road I overtook our friend Mrs. Blount who is still here and will remain probably until the middle of September— She is compelled she says to return to Richmond and has partly promised to visit us afterwards— I regret very much that you did not receive her letter as I think from her conversation it would have been easy to prevail on her to decline the trip and pass the time at our house— I found Mr. & Mrs. Bassett[9] here— They both enquired particularly after you and desire to be remembered to you— The place is crouded with company and many of them agreeable people— Mr. Wirt[10] and his family arrived this evening—

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[7] William Maclure (1763-1840), pioneer geologist, and patron of science and education. He was a member of the commission to settle the spoliation claims with France, 1803 ff.

[8] John Wayles Eppes (1773-1823), member of the House of Representatives, 1803-11, 1813-15, and Senator from Virginia, 1817-19. His visit to the Springs fell between his terms in Congress.

[9] Possibly Richard Bassett (1745-1815), member of the Constitutional Convention, Senator from Delaware, 1789-93, and Governor, 1799-1801. His second wife was a Miss Bruff of Talbot County, Md.

[10] William Wirt (1772-1834), Attorney General of the United States, 1817-29. His second wife was Elizabeth Gamble of Richmond, and he had twelve children.

I have been every day in the bath & fancy that I have already received benefit—on Monday I shall go to the hot springs so that when you write you may direct to that place— I feel daily more anxious to hear from you and our dear children— Write to me by every mail. Nothing but the hope I entertain of substantial benefit to my health could reconcile me to the idea of yet remaining here some weeks— Francis is in good health and sends his love— Baker left me the Evening of our arrival for the Sulphur Springs—

Kiss our children & accept every wish of tenderness and affection from

Your husband
Jno: W: Eppes

II. RED SWEET SPRINGS, 1849.[11]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the annual tour of the springs was an established custom. There were baths and hotels at a score or more locations in the western part of Virginia, and it was quite the thing to make a circuit of the different places. Occasionally a spot became so crowded that it was necessary to develop another resort nearby. Such was the case with the Red Sweet Springs, which was only a mile from the Old Sweet Springs and in the same valley west of Fincastle in Botetourt County. A. C. Finley, of Brownsburg in Rockbridge County, wrote his mother from the Red Sweet in 1849, mentioning stops at five of the springs and noting that the Red Sweet was "a very pleasant place." He was accompanying a sick friend, and the letter reveals that their tour was not at all one for pleasure, but a last desperate effort to bolster the health of the ill Nat. Finley concluded with a remark which reflects the turmoil surrounding life at the springs: "I am pretty well, but tired of this parade, bustle & confusion—." Even so, it was not until the next year, 1850, that a Mr. Bias bought the Red Sweet and transformed it into a "blooming Paradise" which attracted additional swarms of visitors.

Red Sweet Springs—near the "Old Sweet"
August 27th. 1849

Dear Mother

We reached the Hot Springs on thursday to Dinner & found Mr & Mrs

[11] The letter from the Red Sweet Springs is owned by Dr. Howard H. Warner, of Baltimore, Md.

Williamson there, & Nat not any better than when I left him— He improved for 6 or 8 days & then got something worse, at least did not improve. We broke a tire of one of the wheels, & was detained 2 or 3 hours at McKameys having it put on, & in mending the toungs the second time— When we reached the Allum Springs,[12] we found them so crowded that we could not stay, & Cousin Andrew went on with us to Millboro, where we reached after dark—

Mr. & Mrs W. came to the *Hot Springs* on tuesday, being tired of the crowd & fare at the *White;* so that Nat was not alone over 3 days— He thought it best for Nat to try & get here as soon as he could, & advised that we return with them to the *White* on friday & come on to the *Sweet* on saturday, & leave monday (to day) for home by way of Fincastle— They came on with us thus far, & stopt at this place (1 mile from the "Sweet") because the Sweet was full—say 350 persons[13]— There are about 100 here & it is a very pleasant place, Mrs Col. Bliss.[14] of the "White House" is here, & other distinguished persons— We are fixing to leave, had to get a *new* tounge made this morning. it gave way again on saturday, & it was with difficulty we could get here—

Mr & Mrs W. & their company will stay here a few days & start home from the mountains next monday, by way of the Natural Bridge— Mrs W. is anxious to get home, & so am I & Nat, I fear Nat will not stand traveling very well, he was very tired when he reached this place, & has kept his bed most of the time. I expect I shall have to go by way of his fathers & leave him, & then go home, if so, will not reach home *this* week, I am afraid Nat will never get well. he is too imprudent in his eating, & I cant restrain him— I am pretty well, but tired of this parade, bustle & confusion—

My love to all—

Your affectionate son

A. C. Finley

[pencilled on cover]: Fincastle Tuesday noon.

We have just reached here, & Nat is quite unwell & fatigued— I am going straight to his Fathers, & fear he will hardly stand to travel well

A. C. F.

III. BERKELEY SPRINGS, 1851.[15]

The northernmost of the spas was Berkeley Springs, west across the mountains from Harper's Ferry, in Mor-

[12] The Rockbridge Alum Springs were developed by John and William Frazier and ranked second to the White Sulphur in popularity.

[13] The Sweet Springs assumed an air of social superiority and were patronized by many stylish people.

[14] Mary Elizabeth (Taylor) Bliss (b. 1824) was the fifth daughter of President Zachary Taylor and Margaret Mackall (Smith) Taylor, and was the wife of Col. William W. S. Bliss. She was charming and popular, and she acted as her father's hostess at the White House in place of her mother who preferred to remain in retirement.

[15] The letters from Berkeley Springs are among papers deposited recently in the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia by Mr. William Randolph Grymes, of Orange, Va.

gan County, now a part of West Virginia. Originally called Bath Springs, this resort tried to imitate the place of the same name in England and reached a high point of sophistication. Then there was a decline, and the name was changed as part of the effort to stem the falling tide. The transition was well under way in 1851, when Peter Vivian Daniel (1784-1860), justice of the United States Supreme Court, paid a visit there. He wrote two letters to Elizabeth Randolph Daniel (1810-79), the daughter who directed affairs at the family home during his absence; and at the head of the first he wrote "Bath Springs," while on the second he put "Berkeley Springs." Both letters describe in picturesque detail the life at the resort, including comments on the hotels, the shower baths, and the people present. These remarks illustrate well the part played by the springs in the social life of the period preceding the outbreak of the Civil War.

Bath Springs Morgan County
July 23rd 1851

Dear Daughter

The heat & the dust being so great in Richmond that it was impossible almost either to sleep or to breathe, and it being said that the crowd at old Point was such as to make admission very uncertain, and every thing like comfort out of the question; I thought of wandering to this secluded place. I had some hope of benefit too to my crippled shoulder, which for nearly a week before leaving home had given me pain. . . . I find this bath most pleasant, and hope it will drive away all my rheumatic symptoms, which are certainly mitigated. The noon day heat here is nearly, if not fully as intense as that of Richmond; but there is an exemption from dust; the mornings and evenings are cool, and then the bath is a great comfort.[16]

I am at Strothers Hotel, where as yet I have found the accommodations quite good. There are very few people here, which may in some degree contribute to this effect; and may render the proprietor more anxious to attract greater numbers. It seems that by a company of speculators in Baltimore & Winchester, great efforts have been made to puff into importance as a place of fashion, the Cacapon or Capon Springs;[17] and the crowd tends very much to that point. This has taken off many of the usual visitors at this place, and probably at Jordans.[18] I have not

[16] There are no paragraph breaks in the manuscript. Divisions have been made for the sake of clarity.

[17] The Capon Springs, across the mountains west of Winchester, were a later development with a large columned hotel in the classic style.

[18] The Jordan White Sulphur Springs were east of Winchester and not far from that town.

been to O'Farrall's nor do I know who is there; but amongst the persons whom I have seen at this house there is only one that I have ever beheld before; & that is a daughter of Beverly Randolph, whom you remember to have seen at our boarding house in Washington as a visitor to Mrs White. The family of the Brazilian Minister, the Chevalier Macedo, are here. They are people of agreeable and unassuming manners. The lady is said to be irish, or of an irish family—both she & her daughter therefore are of the complexion of the north of Europe—the latter is almost a blonde. I have heard nothing of your acquaintance Miss Eliza Snively: but intend this evening to make particular enquiries for her, and if I find her, shall not fail to assure her of that kindly recollection for her, which I know to be cherished by both Ann & yourself. The time of my sojourn here I cannot determine at this time, but when about to be changed, you shall be apprized of the fact. . . .

The drought appears to have been distressing and very general. You may tell Charles[19] that I have seen much corn in my journey worse than his—and you may tell him moreover, that in passing through the rich lands, of Jefferson & Berkely, and of Carroll's Manor in Maryland, I have not seen any thing like such heavy crops of wheat as I saw in his neighborhood, tho' the crops in the sections of country above mentioned are considered unusually abundant. As I have never been at the Capon Springs, it is quite probable that I may embrace them in my excursion, they are only twenty miles from Winchester, and the travelling over a mac'adamized road. . . .

With love . . . I remain affectionately your father—

P V Daniel

Berkely Springs Morgan County
July 29th. 1851—

Dear Daughter

Your letter of the 21st forwarded from Richmond was received last night. . . . Since my arrival here I have written to you, and must now request that you will not answer at this place, for the following reasons—When I came here, I had it in contemplation to go to Capon or to Jordans likewise, perhaps to both. I received however last night a letter from Mr Taney[20] announcing his intention to go to Old Point & earnestly requesting that I would meet him there. In consequence of this request, I propose returning in three or four days to Richmond where if I can learn any thing satisfactory about old Point I will go there for a week, otherwise I will stay at home awhile and thence probably go to Culpepper.

You may be somewhat surprised after what you heard when last at this place that I am at Strothers, as comfortable as ever was at an Hotel except that the single rooms are rather too small. The house is very neat—the attendance good, and the food & cooking excellent and abundant, and the table prepared with great neatness. At the period of my arrival the heat and drought were excessive—equal indeed to what

[19] Daniel's daughter, Ann Lewis Daniel (b. 1822), married Charles Prosser Moncure.
[20] Roger Brooke Taney (1777-1864), Attorney General of the United States, 1831-33, Secretary of the Treasury, 1833-1834, and Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1836-64.

they are almost any where; but within the last four days there have been copious showers with much lightning and the air is now as cool as is desirable; and the bath is delightful. With out exception I have used the shower bath constructed with small tubes instead of mere holes, for the water to pass thro'—this structure gives to the water increased force in falling & I think I have been considerably benefitted by this bath. . . .

The company here scarcely reaches sixty and in this small number there have been several changes. The smallness of the number however—except with those who want much gayety is perhaps rather an advantage than otherwise to those who are here as they obtain many accommodations which in a crowd could not be had. Even amongst the small number here are some oddities & persons emulous of distinction in their way. Amongst these is a Mrs Riggs[21] the wife of a parvenu from Washington who is erecting an immense Gothic Castle there. The lady just mentioned if I am not mistaken is very weak & to my mind appears not a little ridiculous. I find here within the last two days with his wife, a Mr Williams a lawyer whom you perhaps remember meeting with at Saratoga. He was then from Norfolk, but has lived for some years in Baltimore. I have seen here too a Mr Hunter from Martinsburg, formerly a member of the Legislature, and my acquaintance Henry Bedinger,[22] who is canvassing this district (which he once represented) for Congress; and whom the whigs are hoping to defeat by making a division in bringing forward Dick Byrd,[23] a *professed Democrat*, but under the new designation of an *Union* man. This overture to treachery, I fear Byrd will be weak enough to accept; & if he does, I hope it will consign him to the odium and contempt he will deserve. . . .

With love to all your affectionate father—

[unsigned]

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[21] Mrs. Riggs was Janet Madeleine Cecilia Shedden, daughter of Thomas Shedden of Glasgow, Scotland. Her husband, George Washington Riggs (1813-81), was a banker in Washington, and his firm of Corcoran & Riggs obtained a big share of the loans required by the federal government and made large profits from financing the War with Mexico.

[22] Henry Bedinger (1812-58), member of the House of Representatives, 1845-49, and Minister to Denmark, 1854-58.

[23] Richard Evelyn Byrd (1800-72), a distinguished lawyer, and officer in the Confederate Army.

Batts and Fallam and the Kanawha

By R. Woodrow Castle

Did Captain Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam discover the Great Kanawha Falls near present Gauley Bridge, West Virginia, while exploring throughout southwestern Virginia under the directions of Captain Abraham Wood and the auspices of Governor Sir William Berkeley? Did this exploring party reach present West Virginia soil? Why are scholars divided on this subject? Is there good cause for several eminent historians to maintain that the expedition came near the present Virginia-West Virginia boundary, while others claim that it "went far" into present West Virginia, and still others contend that it actually reached the Kanawha Falls?

Robert Fallam kept a journal of this expedition which is available in printed form in various historical works.[1] To the false interpretations, misinterpretations, or lack of knowledge of Fallam's *Journal* can be attributed this discord among scholars.

Interesting and appropriate at this time would be a grouping of scholars who have dealt with the Batts and Fallam Expedition in their manuscripts. The following scholars have stated in their respective writings that the expedition reached the Great Kanawha Falls: Callahan,[2] Myers,[3] Shawkey,[4] and Hale [5] whose discussion on this subject conveys the idea that the expedition not only reached

[1] Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the English, 1650-1674*, p. 183 *et seq.*; Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia*, p. 1 *et seq.* For a well known account of the expedition other than the *Journal*, see Robert Beverly, *History of Virginia*, pp. 62-64; *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III, p. 193 et seq.

[2] J. M. Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia*, p. 18.

[3] S. Myers, *History of West Virginia*, pp. 53-54.

[4] M. P. Shawkey, *West Virginia*, p. 19.

[5] J. P. Hale and others, *History of The Great Kanawha Valley*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

the Falls, but a point near Campbell's Creek[6] far below them.

Conley[7] states that Batts and Fallam were "the first explorers who really made a journey to West Virginia," while Morton[8] informs us that "they [Batts and Fallam] were far below Hinton." Bruce[9] says that "two expeditions under the leadership of Abraham Wood were made in 1671 and 1673, but apparently without remarkable results." Miller, [10] who is not certain of the extent of the journey, mentions the fact of extensive explorations throughout the New River Valley, and further states, "it is not known that they [the expeditions] came as far west as West Virginia territory."

The following scholars are more specific in regard to the expedition and hold that it came near the present Virginia-West Virginia boundary line in Giles County, Virginia. This school of thought is generally accepted as being correct, since the Fallam *Journal* is the source in which the information has been found. Ambler,[11] Alvord and Bidgood,[12] Kegley,[13] Stanard,[14] Summers,[15] and others constitute the group of scholars adhering to this point of view.

It must be kept constantly in mind that some of these writers, undoubtedly, did not have access to the Fallam *Journal*. Moreover, such historians as Burk,[16] who places the date of the expedition as 1667, possibly to "get ahead" of the French, have been greatly misleading to later students and writers. Robert Beverly, being somewhat uncertain of the exact time of the journey, states that it was undertaken between the years 1666 and 1676.[17]

A thorough understanding and clear conception of the Batts and Fallam Expedition can be formulated by first

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[6] *New Descriptive Atlas of West Virginia* (John R. Ice), p. 25.
[7] Phil Conley, *Beacon Lights of West Virginia History*, p. 53.
[8] Oren F. Morton, *A History of Monroe County, West Virginia*, p. 21.
[9] Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 311.
[10] James H. Miller, *History of Summers County*, p. 15.
[11] C. H. Ambler, *West Virginia, The Mountain State*, p. 40 *et seq.*
[12] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 70-75.
[13] F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, pp. 10-11.
[14] Mary Newton Stanard, *The Story of Virginia's First Century*, pp. 253-254.
[15] Summers, *Annals of Virginia*, p. 1 *et seq.*
[16] J. Burk, *The History of Virginia from First Settlement to The Present Day*, Vol. II, in Charles Campbell, *History of The Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia*, pp. 268-269.
[17] Robert Beverly, *History of Virginia*, pp. 62-64.

analyzing the forces back of it; second, learning the extent of the expedition; and third, carefully weighing the results actually obtained from it.

Wood's Expedition in 1650, Lederer's Expeditions in the years 1669-1670, the Batts and Fallam Expedition and that of William Byrd in 1671[18] were all undertaken with definite goals in mind and were not mere wanderings. The most important objectives in mind might be summed up as follows: A navigable waterway to the "South Sea"; "the precious metals," which the explorers, as well as their sponsor Governor Berkeley of Virginia, hoped would be found in the mountainous region in an abundance equaling the seemingly inexhaustible mines found by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru; and last, but nowise the least, investigation of the Indian Trade.[19] A minor objective was the desire to find the most strategic places on the Frontier to establish garrisons from which Indian attacks could be easily thwarted.

Aggressive Englishmen, spurred on by the Indian trade and the desire for furs acquired through this trade, soon brought about the defeat of the Dutch at New Amsterdam in 1664, and the chartering of the Hudson Bay Company in 1670.[20] The organization and chartering of this Company was effected for the purpose of exploiting the Indian trade on the North American Continent (specifically that region which now embraces Canada) with emphasis on the acquisition of furs from the Indians,[21] which proved to be a lucrative business. As was stipulated in its charter, the Company was also to search for a "Northwest Passage" to the South Seas.[22]

The Hudson Bay Company's charter did not include territory within the present boundary of the United States, except a small portion in the northwest section.[23] This fact alone would undoubtedly offer much along the line of an explanation as to why there is belief on the part of a few

[18] Ambler, *West Virginia*, pp. 38-42.
[19] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, p. 61.
[20] Ambler, *West Virginia*, pp. 38-39.
[21] *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Vol. III, p. 853.
[22] *The Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 14, p. 473.
[23] *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Vol. III, p. 853.

writers that the Hudson Bay Company, itself, did not exert a great influence directly on the Indian trade in the present United States.[24]

Governor Sir William Berkeley, who had an interest in the Hudson Bay Company,[25] was selected to be its representative in North America.[26] Acting in his capacity as company agent, Governor Berkeley attempted to open up routes of communication with the hinterland and divert the Indian trade from Spanish influence along the Lower Mississippi and French influence in the Upper Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes Region into the grasp of the Hudson Bay Company. His forces in Virginia were to work toward the same goal as the forces in New York, formerly New Amsterdam, and the Hudson Bay Region in opening routes into the Ohio and Upper Mississippi Valleys and the Great Lakes Region,[27] driving out, as they advanced, the French traders and explorers who had infested the vicinity of the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi Valley.[28]

In pursuance of the plan of the Hudson Bay Company, Governor Berkeley enlisted the services of Captain Abraham Wood,[29] a noted frontiersman, explorer, and soldier. Wood had gained much knowledge of the hinterland of Virginia from previous travels,[30] and he was, therefore, the choice of the Governor to carry out extensive explorations in the back region.

The plan mentioned in the preceding paragraph is probably one inaugurated by the "Adventurers" in England, who had interests in Virginia or were interested in promoting trade with the American Colonies.[31]

Nevertheless, Wood, utilizing his vested authority, organized a party of men consisting of Thomas Batts,[32]

[24] See Robert E. Pinkerton, *Hudson Bay Company*, p. 114; *passim*.
[25] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, p. 59, n. 80.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 57-59; Ambler, *West Virginia*, p. 39.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 60, 194; Edward Channing, *A History of The United States*, Vol. II, pp. 131-132.
[29] Ambler, *West Virginia*, p. 39.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 38; Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 47-49, 114.
[31] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, p. 57 *et seq.*
[32] Captain Henry Batts instead of Thomas Batts in Charles Campbell, *History of the Colony*, pp. 268-269; Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, p. 184, n. 143; Summers, *Annals of Virginia*, p. 1, n 1; Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia*, p. 18.

Thomas Wood, Robert Fallam, and a few Indians to act as guides.[33] This party set out from Fort Henry, at present Petersburg, Virginia, on the first of September, 1671. Going by way of the headwaters of Roanoke River, the Staunton (a branch of the Roanoke), the party reached the Blue Ridge Mountains.[34]

The Expedition, exclusive of Thomas Wood, who having fallen ill was left behind, proceeded westward over the Blue Ridge and descended into Roanoke Valley, near the present site of Roanoke, Virginia. Then via the Staunton River, it reached and crossed the Allegheny Mountains,[35] and descended into a valley where a body of water was found to be flowing in a westerly direction, which stream was known at that time as Wood's River,[36] but at present as the New River.[37]

After taking possession of all lands in this manner: "Long live Charles the Second, by grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland and Virginia and all the territories thereunto belonging,"[38] the journey was resumed for three days in a westerly direction after leaving the western side of the Allegheny Mountains on New River. At the end of the third day, it now being the 17th of September and seventeen days since leaving Fort Henry (Petersburg), the party reached a point on what is now New River, where said river passes through Peter's Mountain. This mountain is located in Giles County, Virginia.[39]

The present Virginia-West Virginia boundary line would have passed this particular place were it not for the sudden westward curving of the line, below and above the gap in the mountain, making an indentation in said line just opposite and west of the point reached by Batts and Fallam.[40]

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[33] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 70-75; Ambler, *West Virginia*, p. 40.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Ambler, *West Virginia*, pp. 40-41.
[36] New River was originally known as Wood's River, so-called because Captain Abraham Wood was credited as having been the first white man to reach this river while exploring. The years 1650 and 1654 constitute the approximate time when Wood was engaged in his first inland explorations.
[37] Hale and others, *Great Kanawha Valley*, Vol. I, p. 21.
[38] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, p. 19.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 74, n. 167, 192.
[40] West Virginia Geological Survey, *Maps*, (Monroe County) 1925.

At this time the Indian guides became restless and clamored for an immediate return, claiming that there was danger of encountering severe and stormy weather at this time of the year in the mountainous regions.[41] Without doubt the guides were uneasy due to the fear of encountering hostile warriors[42] more than they feared adverse weather conditions. Yet, one of the most trusted guides contended that he had heard Indian war drums a day or so before while returning to camp after a search for game.[43] There is evidence enough to substantiate such fear on the part of the superstitious savages, as the territory included in present West Virginia and southwestern Pennsylvania was regarded as common hunting grounds of the Indians and also embraced the "cross-roads" of Indian "warpaths" from about 1656 to 1720.[44]

That this "battlefield" seemed repulsive rather than inviting to the Indian guides can be understood by recalling that no Indians inhabited the Trans-Allegheny Region, i. e. mainly present West Virginia territory and the Upper Ohio Valley, from 1656, when the Erie Tribe was driven out by the Iroquois, until 1720, when the Shawnee Indians began to move into the Upper Ohio Valley.[45]

The fact that the Erie and other smaller tribes of Indians were so intimidated that they were afraid to remain in the Trans-Allegheny Region, or were actually crowded out by the warlike Iroquois early in the second half of the seventeenth century, tends to clarify and explain the presence of "old fields"[46] which Batts and Fallam found along New River. The "old fields" were on the western side of the Allegheny Mountains and in the Trans-Allegheny Region, but still within the bounds of the present state of Virginia.[47] Such fields amounted to nothing more than land left fallow by these early Indian inhabitants, and later completely abandoned due to pressure from the Iroquois. The space

[41] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 190-191.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[44] Ambler, *West Virginia*, p. 27; Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio*, p. 17 *et seq.*
[45] Downes, *Council Fires*, p. 17 *et seq.*
[46] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 73, 189, 192.
[47] Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia*, map opposite page 6.

of time between 1656 and 1671 would have been sufficient to allow this once cultivated bottom land to revert to a thicket, which Fallam clearly reveals in his *Journal.* [48]

Pertinent to the topic and interesting to note is the origin of the impetus necessary for the Batts and Fallam Expedition and similar journeys at that time. It is no difficult task to trace its beginning to a group of shrewd and scheming, economic and political-minded Englishmen.[49] A large percentage of this group constituted the "Adventurers," or organizers and proprietors of the Hudson Bay Company. This particular clique of "business-minded" Englishmen wished to tap the reservoir of furs in the Trans-Allegheny Region as previously mentioned, and also establish a prior claim to the same region.[50] Through Governor Berkeley this closely adhering corps of business men and politicians firmly resolved and was determined to send expeditions into the Trans-Allegheny and Upper Ohio Regions in spite of the fact that it presented obstacles almost insurmountable due to its great distance from England; and furthermore it was generally thought, and truly so, that serious international conflicts might inevitably result with France.

La Salle had, a few years previous to the Batts and Fallam Expedition, traveled extensively throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley and also the Great Lakes Region.[51] He was eager to gain knowledge of and an entrance to the Upper Ohio Region in order to supersede the English in establishing a claim to all such territory. However, the extent of his exertions toward this goal seem to have been terminated early in 1671 near the Mahoning River in present Mahoning County, Ohio.[52]

Here La Salle is supposed to have taken possession of the land for France. However, the proof of his expedition and the extent of discovery are somewhat questionable, as all evidence, such as axe-marked trees found at a much later date, could easily have been that of individual traders

[48] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, p. 192.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[50] *Ibid., passim.*
[51] James Truslow Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, Vol. III, pp. 246-247.
[52] Daniel C. Draper, "La Salle and The Ohio," in *West Virginia History* (Quarterly Magazine), Vol. II, No. 2, p. 111.

or trappers. Nevertheless, credit for these notched trees is generally reasoned as belonging to La Salle and his exploring party.[53]

Whether or not La Salle proclaimed all land drained by the Mahoning River and its tributaries,[54] or all land drained by that river system of which the Mahoning was a part, *his claim to the Trans-Allegheny Region* would seem poorly substantiated in contrast to a claim laid by actual discovery. Yet, his priority to the Mahoning Region seems incontestable, and the results of his accomplishment by way of discovery appear to be acceptable to most scholars.

Batts and Fallam did not take possession of the New River Region in the usual manner customarily followed by explorers. Instead of claiming all lands drained by Wood's River (New River) and its tributaries, or all land drained by that river system of which Wood's River was a part, they asserted their right to the territory by proclaiming "Charles the Second, by grace of God King of England, Scotland . . . Virginia and *of all the territories thereunto belonging.*" Such a proclamation as this would tend to show that the English considered themselves the rightful possessors of this region and were merely reaffirming their claim to the territory within the original limits of the London Company's Charter of 1609.[55]

In addition it might be a wise consideration to note that the Batts and Fallam Expedition is substantiated by Fallam's *Journal*, while La Salle's Mahoning River Expedition is more obscure and much less substantiated in regard to claiming the Trans-Allegheny Region, because no journal or written record was kept by him.

La Salle and his supporters, being provoked by the discoveries of Joliet and the Jesuits along the Mississippi, "manufactured," in 1669, a history setting forth the story of their exploration and discovery of the Ohio River.[56]

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[53] Draper, "La Salle and The Ohio," in *West Virginia History, passim.*

[54] The Mahoning River empties into the Ohio a few miles below the present city of Pittsburgh in Beaver County, Pennsylvania. See Hammond's *New World Atlas*, p. 189.

[55] Ambler, *West Virginia*, pp. 1, 74.

[56] Draper, "La Salle and The Ohio," in *West Virginia History*, p. 107; Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 78; Theodore Pease and Raymond Werner, *The French Foundations, 1680-1693*, p. 135.

This "manufactured" history was completely invalidated in April, 1682, when La Salle plainly stated that he had not as yet discovered the Ohio.[57]

On the contrary, the claim of Batts and Fallam to the Trans-Allegheny Region would seem much more plausible and well justified as Virginia claimed this territory and most of the Upper Ohio Valley by grant and Charter of 1609.[58]

The distance traveled by the Batts and Fallam party, as computed by Fallam and stated in his *Journal,* presents somewhat of a stumbling block due to its inherent deceptive quality. At that time the land was covered with a virgin forest, or, at the least, dense thickets of underbrush in many localities. In coping with this situation and overcoming such obstacles as were presented by rough, stony land, steep mountain ascents, and numerous river crossings, and at a time when rations and provisions were practically exhausted,[59] the adventure became one of toil and hardships, in contrast to the ease and pleasure usually associated with it. Under these circumstances allowance might be made for erroneous judgment of distance from day to day.

While traversing such territory and crossing unusually rugged lands one is apt to estimate the rate of travel and distance covered somewhat in excess of what was actually the case. Giving due consideration to the fact that traveling through forests and in new territory is very deceptive, the distance given by Fallam would, undoubtedly, be on the excessive side.[60] However, in going over mountains and across and through valleys, as Batts and Fallam were compelled to do, the estimated 338 miles set forth in the *Journal* as the actual distance covered could easily be correct.[61]

It has been found by recent surveys that the distance from Petersburg, Virginia (Fort Henry in 1671), to Peter's Mountain is approximately 160 miles by airline,[62] slightly less than half the distance Fallam records in his *Journal.*

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[58] Ambler, *West Virginia*, pp. 1, 74.
[59] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 187, 189, 192.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 195 *et seq.*
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 195, 199.
[62] Kegley, *Kegley's Frontier*, pp. 10-11.

After having an adequate knowledge of the geographical factors and closely examining Fallam's *Journal,* one can understand the extent of the expedition much more clearly.

In conclusion, it would undoubtedly be permissible to state that there has been a prevalent belief that credit and color might be added to West Virginia History by claiming that Batts and Fallam traveled to the Great Kanawha Falls.

Poor Relief Education

(Kanawha County, Virginia, 1818-1847)

By Charles H. Ambler

This paper purposes a somewhat intimate account of efforts to educate children of the "indigent poor" in Kanawha County, (West) Virginia, by use of income from a state literary fund. As authorized on February 2, 1810, by an act of the general assembly, as amended in 1811 and in 1814, this fund was derived from certain "escheats, confiscations, fines, penalties and forfeitures and all the rights accruing to the state as derelict" and was "set aside for the encouragement of learning.[1] As indicated in a warning provision of the act of 1811, this fund was to be used "for no other purpose than the education of the poor."

A study of the operation of the system in Kanawha County will perhaps shed additional light upon that for the entire state, the personnel of those who functioned in the local unit, and the beginnings of West Virginia's free public schools. This study is based almost entirely upon primary sources which include minute books of the school commissioners in charge and annual reports of their treasurer.[2] These data can be best understood however in the light of the historical background out of which they grew.[3] On this point, it is recalled that the West Virginia free public school system stemmed from the schools of Virginia,

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[1] *Session Acts* (1809-10), pp. 15-17; Virginia, *Revised Code* (1819), Vol. I, pp. 82-90; A. J. Morrison, *Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860*, pp. 7-16; William A. Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War*, pp. 42-62.

[2] These sources were among the court papers transferred from Kanawha County Court House, Kanawha County, West Virginia, to the Division of Documents, West Virginia University Library, under a permissive act of the state legislature of 1933.

[3] Cornelius J. Heatwole, *A History of Education in Virginia* (New York, 1916), pp. 100-124; Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South* (New York, 1922), pp. 47-72, 198-215, and "The Evolution of Public Education in Virginia," in *Sewanee Review*, Vol. XXIV (January, 1916); Philip A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. I (New York, 1910), pp. 79-93, 316-342; William A. Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War* (New York, 1918); Sadie Bell, *The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1930); Hening, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. I-XIII.

which at different times were ward and apprenticeship schools for the education of poor orphans, dependents, and illegitimates; parish maintained charity and other schools; private schools taught by tutors; and, most important of all, common schools, better known both in Virginia and West Virginia as "Old Field Schools."

Plans for educating the poor children of Virginia can be traced directly to her apprenticeship laws and regulations for training poor orphans and indigent children, which in turn were based upon the famous English Poor Laws of 1601.[4] In keeping with the latter the colonial assembly of 1643 "injoyned" overseers and guardians of "orphants to educate and instruct" them in "Christian religion and in rudiments of learning."[5] Also in keeping with English practices, the general assembly three years later authorized county courts to send two children, either male or female, from each county of the colony to James City, "there to be employed in the public flax houses under such master or mistresse as shall be there appointed, In carding, knitting and spinning."[6] An act of 1672 authorized county courts to apprentice to tradesmen any and all children "whose parents are unable to bring them up."[7]

During the next century laws and regulations governing apprenticeship of poor orphans and indigent children tended to lose their mercenary character and to become paternalistic and cultural.[8] In 1705 masters were, for instance, "obliged to teach" such children to read and write,[9] and in 1727 church-wardens were permitted to apprentice certain indigent children only to those who would teach them Christian principles.[10] Subsequent acts, notably those of 1748 and 1755, generally required that wards and apprentices be taught useful arts or trades and also reading and writing.[11] As a consequence, by the Revolution there

[4] Knight, in *Sewanee Review*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 27-28.
[5] *Hening*, Vol. I, p. 261; Heatwole, *History of Education in Virginia*, pp. 28-29.
[6] *Hening*, Vol. I, pp. 336-337; Heatwole, *History of Education in Virginia*, pp. 30-32.
[7] *Hening*, Vol. II, p. 298.
[8] Knight in *Sewanee Review*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 31-32.
[9] *Hening*, Vol. III, p. 375.
[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 212.
[11] *Hening*, Vol. VI, pp. 32, 475.

developed a sort of paternalistic attitude toward poor orphans and poor children generally.[12] Formerly the poor had been educated primarily to reduce vagrancy and pauperism, but the new attitude contemplated making useful citizens of them.

With the advent of the Jefferson school of thought, this tendency grew apace with bents to things secular and political. One of the first evidences of the social and cultural revolution thus inaugurated, was the general transfer of powers and duties of dealing with poor orphans and poor children from church-wardens, vestries, and other church officials to county and state authorities.[13] In the western counties, where dissenters held almost complete sway, this transition was facilitated by the absence of parish organizations.[14] Thus, by a series of acts beginning in 1778, the separation of church and state was all but accomplished in local matters before the state church was in 1785 formally disestablished.[15]

Under this changed order county courts continued to apprentice poor children and wards primarily with a view to their commercial and economic usefulness, but the cultural side of their education continued to receive attention. This was indicated in a general assembly act of 1786, which authorized the apprenticing of poor children and orphans to learn trades and businesses but required that they, both boys and girls, should also be taught to read and write. In the case of boys, they were to be taught "common arithmetic, including the rule of three."[16]

Whereas the apprenticeship laws of the next two decades continued to be motivated primarily by economic considerations, there was meantime a growing popular belief in the efficacy of a literary education in training persons of all groups for citizenship. With the enlarged opportunities of independence and the possibility of attaining the ideals of

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[12] Knight, in *Sewanee Review*, Vol. XXIV, p. 32.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[14] *Hening*, Vol. IX, p. 527; *ibid.*, X, p. 288.
[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 84.
[16] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 274-275.

democracy, this trend gained in favor. It was accelerated by Jefferson's proposal of 1779 for free public schools for the children of all free parents[17] and by the modified form of that proposal as enacted into law in 1796. These influences led to the general conclusion that an enlightened citizenry, embracing the poor, was a good safeguard of democratic institutions and a necessary training for self-government.

Although the fund established to accomplish this purpose was later severely criticized, its authorization was warmly received. This is indicated on the authority of James Barbour. As Governor of Virginia and ex officio President of the Literary Fund, he stated in a circular letter dated March 30, 1814, that its creation was "hailed with rapture by the friends of science, of freedom, and of virtue." Under the existing conditions and tendencies, it did not seemingly occur to Governor Barbour that many Virginians, as later alleged, would thus be pauperized and rendered illiterate in their effort to avoid the former stigma. Instead, he looked forward with enthusiasm to the time when the general assembly would be able to establish "a school, or schools, for the education of poor children in every county within the commonwealth."[18]

The plan fell short of this objective, but a beginning was hastened by a general assembly act of February 24, 1816, which diverted to the Literary Fund $1,210,550.41, part of the repayment by the Federal Government of funds supplied by Virginia to help finance the War of 1812.[19] As the resulting proceeds were thus considered adequate for the purposes, the general assembly on February 21, 1818, authorized a plan of education for poor white children and made available $45,000 annually for that purpose. The quota to each county, city, or town of this annuity was such portion of it as the unit's "free white

[17] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (First Hot-pressed edition. Philadelphia, 1801), pp. 284-292; Knight, in *Sewanee Review*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 38-39; Morrison, *The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860;* Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War.*

[18] Circular Letter of March 30, 1814.

[19] Virginia, *Revised Code* (1819), Vol. I, pp. 84-85; *Session Acts; History of Education in Virginia,* p. 104.

population" bore to the total white population of the entire state,[20] but no funds were available to any unit until the treasurer of its school commission had given bond according to a prescribed form and a fixed amount.

Local administration of these funds was vested in county courts which prior thereto had been the legal guardians of poor orphans and indigent children, not otherwise provided for. In matters educational the courts functioned through commissioners appointed by them and varying in number from five to fifteen, according to the size of the units served. Acting individually but with the consent of parents concerned, these commissioners selected the children to be taught and the schools to be attended. The total number of children to be chosen, together with a daily tuition fee, not to exceed four cents for each child in actual attendance, was determined by the commissioners in their regular meetings. Through the county courts school commissioners made annual reports first to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund and after 1823 to the Second Auditor, who was then designated "Superintendent of the Literary Fund"[21] and became to all intents and purposes Virginia's first superintendent of public instruction.

Although commissioners were expected to visit schools attended by poor children, to attend all regular and special meetings of their boards, and otherwise to take an active interest in their official duties, they received no compensation after 1823 and might be fined not to exceed ten dollars for refusal to accept an appointment and function under it, provided they had not served during a previous year.[22] According to the Superintendent of the

[20] Richmond *Whig*, November 1, 1844. Total allotments to the several counties in present West Virginia were Barbour, $541.62; Braxton, $237.02; Berkeley, $827.57; Brooke, $734.97; Cabell, $378.95; Fayette, $356.44; Greenbrier, $688.41; Hampshire, $1,011.11; Hardy, $576.27; Harrison, $1,112.88; Jackson, $453.74; Jefferson, $880.76; Kanawha, $1,030.68; Lewis, $636.55; Logan, $392.90; Mason, $559.55; Marion, $796.01; Marshall, $647.52; Mercer, $192.81; Monongalia, $1,013.76; Monroe, $704.46; Morgan, $388.56; Nicholas, $230.52; Ohio, $1,213.19; Pendleton, $608.86; Preston, $637.02; Pocahontas, $253.56; Randolph, $321.02; Ritchie, $204.71; Tyler, $648.45; Wayne, $336.58; Wood, $554.54.

[21] Virginia, *Revised Code* (1819), Vol. I, pp. 87-88; Virginia, *Code* (1849), pp. 370-376; *Session Acts* (1822-23), pp. 50-51.

[22] *Ibid.*

Literary Fund, the plan was "an institution of a wholly charitable nature," the very existence of which depended "entirely upon services not only gratuitously but zealously, rendered." Under the existing conditions he admonished commissioners "to look to a higher reward found in the consciousness of having been the means of rescuing from a nursery of vice, intemperance and disease, some bold and soaring spirit, to fight the battles of his country, and adorn its history with his brilliant career, or of having given the first impulse to the expansive mind of some highly gifted but modest youth, destined to guide the councils of his country by his wisdom and eloquence: this is a reward far above all price."[23]

After 1823 only the treasurers and the clerks of the school commissions were allowed compensations for their services. That for the treasurer could not exceed two and a half per cent of his total disbursements for any one year, whereas the clerk's compensation was an "allowance" not to exceed ten dollars in any one year. Beginning in 1829 commissioners might also appropriate "a sum not exceeding ten per cent . . . towards building a schoolhouse" in counties that had previously been subdivided into districts for that purpose, and to supplement funds contributed by private individuals to establish district free schools. A small allowance, not to exceed five per cent of the total disbursements for tuition, might also be legally spent for books and writing materials for the use of poor children.[24]

In the outset many counties failed to avail themselves of the benefits of the Literary Fund. As a consequence, their unexpended balances grew alarmingly. To avert more serious results, as well as to awaken commissioners from their indifference, the general assembly in 1823 required them to make annual reports of their activities and subjected individual members to a fine of ten dollars each for failure to comply. These reports were required

[23] J. Brown, Second Auditor of Virginia, "Circular Letter to the School Commissioners," together with an "Abstract of the Laws Relating to the Appointment, Powers, and Duties of School Commissioners" and "Forms for the Use of School Commissioners" (Richmond, Virginia, 1829).
[24] Virginia, *Code* (1849), pp. 370-376; *Session Acts* (1828-29), pp. 12-13.

to show the number of indigent children in each county, the number of schools, the number of poor children attending them, and itemized statements of expenditures for tuition, books, etc.[25]

However, "unexpended and unaccounted for" balances continued to accumulate. In 1828 they aggregated $91,-162.07[26] which was accepted by critics of the Literary Fund as evidence of failure to accomplish its purposes, but the democratic influences incident to the rise of the common man were too strong to permit repeal. Instead, the laws and regulations governing the duties of school commissioners were again strengthened, and the Superintendent was authorized to draft and distribute certain forms covering every important phase of administration of school affairs in the local units.[27] Indicative of a changed attitude and interest as a result of these correcting and modifying influences and the current upsurge of interest in education, a general assembly act of 1837 made each school commissioner personally responsible for expenditures authorized by him in excess of "the portion of the school fund allotted to him."[28]

"Masters" employed to teach poor children were almost invariably those of the existing common schools. They were responsible for their own records which were rarely questioned. When questions arose, masters were sometimes asked to attest the accuracy of their reports by oaths notarized before justices of the peace.[29] Teacher preparation rarely went beyond the "Three R's," reading, writing and arithmetic, to which instruction for poor children was restricted by law.

According to the earliest data available the Kanawha County commissioners, Andrew Parks, Joel Shrewsbury, Thomas Matthews, James B. Rust, James C. McFarland, Joseph Lovell, and Lewis Ruffner attending, met on November 13, 1826, on the first day of the regular session

[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Brown, "Circular Letter" and "Abstract"; *Session Acts* (1828-29), 12-13.
[27] *Ibid.*; Virginia, *Code* (1849), pp. 371-375.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Kanawha County School Records in West Virginia University Library.

of the county court for that year.[30] As those in attendance were not a quorum of the fifteen members then composing the commission, they adjourned until the following day with the same result. With the attendance of Charles Brown and William Whitteker on November 15, the necessary quorum was present, and with Joel Shrewsbury as chairman, the individual members then proceeded "to settle their accounts with their treasurer," Colonel Joseph Lovell, Esq. Authorized expenditures for the year amounted to $239.09, which left an unexpended balance of $844.54 with the treasurer. The records do not indicate the number of schools used, the number of masters employed, and the number of children taught.

Both in form and content the records for the next ensuing three years follow rather closely the pattern of 1826. The total annual expenditures and unexpended balances for 1827 and 1828 were $405.49-$438.04 and $594.63-$572.65, respectively. In the failure to receive the quota for 1829 within that year, it ended with overdrafts amounting to $262.55. The number of children aided in any of these years was not stated, but in 1828 those entitled "to the benefit of the School Fund" were estimated to aggregate "at least two hundred and twenty." George W. Summers and David Ruffner first became members of the commission in that year. In 1828 the Rev. Nathaniel W. Calhoon[31] succeeded Joel Shrewsbury as a member and president of the commission.

By compliance with the act of February 25, 1829, regulating the use of funds for the education of poor children and increasing the authority of the Second Auditor with respect to them, the Kanawha record for 1830 was somewhat comprehensive. A total of 282 poor children attended

[30] From this point forward sources of the data for this paper, not otherwise indicated, are the Kanawha County School Records in the West Virginia University Library. In 1829 the school year for indigent children was changed from November 1 to October 1. Although it was not thus conterminous with the calendar year, the latter will, for the sake of brevity, be used to designate the former in this paper. Biographical sketches of school commissioners mentioned in this paper may be found in George W. Atkinson, *History of Kanawha County* (Charleston, 1876), and in W. S. Laidley, *History of Charleston and Kanawha County West Virginia and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, 1911).

[31] The Rev. Calhoon's signature was "Calhoon" but others spelled his name "Calhoun."

the common schools that year, but this was only about half the number then entitled "to the benefits of the Fund." Davis Hudson became a member of the commission, and the annual report listed for the first time the names of the teachers employed, together with the tuition paid each teacher. The quotas for both 1829 and 1830 having been paid in the latter year, it ended with an unexpended balance of $701.74.

Inasmuch as standardized forms were then used, the record for 1831 was much like that for the previous year. It listed the teachers employed, together with the tuition paid each. Of the estimated 450 children entitled only 247 accepted tuition, but the number of schools used seems to have been about the same as in the previous year. Inasmuch as the quota for 1831 was not available, it ended with a balance of $55.49 due the treasurer. John Hansford, Jr., became a member of the commission.

Among "masters" teaching poor children in Kanawha County in 1830 and 1831 were William S. Brawley, Christopher C. Brown, O. W. Brown, J. Cartmell, Edmund Crawford, William Dean, George F. Dudley, Lewis Fife, Nathaniel Hatch, William Hensley, L. S. Hollensbeck, Edward Jennings, Adam Lacy, John Marks, William F. Mavity, James Poindexter, Jacob W. Rand, Isaac Reaburn, H. Smith, Benj. F. Spyker, F. Staples, James J. Straughan, Lawrence L. Summers, James M. Thomas, Albert G. Walker, R. M. Walker, Moses F. Ward, William C. Wilson, and Isaac Wright. It is perhaps significant that there was not a woman teacher among them.

David Ruffner succeeded the Rev. Calhoon as president of the commission in 1832, but John P. Turner, first elected in 1827, and Alexander W. Quarrier, first elected in 1828, continued to serve it as treasurer and clerk, respectively. The proceedings for 1832 and the two succeeding years were, however, featured by somewhat unusual developments. In 1832 there was difficulty in getting a quorum for the first meeting. In the failure of the nec-

essary eight to attend, a minority adjourned from day to day from October 8 to November 10. It was in this year that William R. Cox became a member of the commission. It ended the year with a balance of $140.96 due the treasurer. Despite this shortage and the fact that the poor children of the county remained constant, only 298 received instruction, and only 24 common schools were in use.

Possibly because of the quickened general interest in education, the benefits of the Kanawha County quota were in 1833 extended to 326 children and 35 common schools were used to accommodate them. Meanwhile the number of those entitled to aid had increased to approximately 500. Under these conditions the commissioners expressed hope that their quotas might be so far increased as to enable them "to extend aid to many who are now entirely without the means of education." The teachers employed, "or the most of them," were known to the commissioners "to be men of good moral character and to be capable of instructing in the common rudiments of education." With such results the commission was gratified "in being able to certify that the children were enjoying the benefits of the fund."

The commission in 1833 defined, for the first time, the term "indigent." It was then "considered" to apply only to children between the ages of six and fifteen, "who have no means of attaining schooling, but through the aid of the literary fund." Total expenditures for the year amounted to $893.84, of which $18.30 went to the treasurer for current and back pay, $24.00 to the clerk for the same, and $24.30 for books and paper covering two years. The balance for this year, $8.10, was again on the side of the treasurer.

Because of "extensively prevailing" smallpox in the county and "more especially at the Court House," the annual meeting for 1834 was not held until January 26, 1835. Possibly because of this condition the records for

1834 do not make a good showing. Although the number of those entitled to aid had increased to between 500 and 600, only 175 attended school and only 16 common schools were used for their instruction. Under these conditions an unfavorable balance was created into an "unexpanded" balance of $89.95. Francis Thompson became a member of the commission this year.

During the years 1835-1856 the schooling status of Kanawha's poor children did not change noticeably. David Ruffner acted as president of the commission and John P. Turner and Alexander W. Quarrier were its treasurer and clerk, respectively. Masters were employed in 23 and 19 common schools for the respective years, but the total number of children taught declined from 199 in 1835 to 140 in 1836.

Under these conditions an unexpended balance of $150.77 was somewhat embarrassing to the commissioners. They explained it as due to their desire "not to exceed in expenditure their annual quota." Inasmuch as there were admittedly many children entitled "under the law" to the benefits of the school fund and much good had accrued to the community from its use, the commissioners indicated their intention "to expend the revenue of the coming year with greatly enlarged benefits."

Although there was no recorded change in the personnel of the commission or in its officers for 1837, the available data indicate that it was a year of quickened interest in the education of poor children. In response to the demands of their increasing numbers, then estimated at between 600 and 650, the commissioners reinterpreted the term "indigent." As then "considered" it was made to apply: First, to poor orphans who had lost both parents; second to children of "poor widow women"; third, to children of such poor persons as the commissioners, acting individually, deemed unable to pay tuition. Incidentally, they indicated that no distinction had been made between boys and girls in the selections of those to be taught, but the minimum

age of eligibles was at this time increased from six to seven years.

Total expenditures for tuition, books, and paper for the 222 children who attended school "for different periods during the year" 1837 was $765.11 which left an unexpended balance of $434.83. Because of the admitted needs, this balance proved somewhat embarrassing. The commissioners stated that it was needed to meet "old outstanding claims," payment of which had been authorized by an act of the general assembly of that year. It was seemingly with pride that they announced that any remaining balance, together with the quota for 1838, would be used to give every poor child living in the county in the neighborhood of a common school, an opportunity to attend it.

The concluding minutes for 1837 were perhaps significant. Children receiving benefits of the fund were "reported to have made very good progress"; teachers had been examined by the commissioners as to their qualifications; they had been allowed four cents "for every day's attendance of each poor child"; common schools in use had been visited by the commissioners; and "in all cases the teachers employed were the best to be procured for the pay." Yet the commissioners did not "deem it necessary to suggest any alterations or modifications in the existing laws & regulations concerning the education of the poor."

The record for 1838 reflected the existing conditions and, strange to say, was devoted largely to explaining an unexpended balance of $511.60, which was attributed to the "hardness & scarcity of the times." These had "forced" many "heads of families who in former years joyfully sent their children to our schools," to keep them at home "in order that their labor might contribute towards the support of their respective families." This defection had extended also to masters who for the first time were reported to have complained because of the "inadequacy of their Compensation." Tuition payments were made for 297

children, for whose use $10.34 had been spent for books and paper.

Total receipts for 1839, including the unexpended balance for the preceding year, were $1,231.60. Although the number of children receiving benefits increased to 359, the commissioners had an unexpended balance for that year of $418.50. Temporarily at least, they were relieved from the resulting embarrassment by assigning this balance, together with the quota and expected surplus quota for 1840 to "the use of the Trustees of Mercer Academy."[32] Whether significant or not, the record shows that this action was by a unanimous vote. An accompanying resolution recommending that the commissioners send no child to school under the age of eight, with no extension of the maximum

[32] "A number of inhabitants in the County of Kanawha" having procured by voluntary contributions "a suitable lot in the town of Charleston" and having erected thereon "a convenient and suitable edifice for the laudable purpose of educating the youth of the County," the general assembly on February 18, 1818 constituted "the present trustees" a body politic to operate the proposed institution. Anticipating the establishment of a general system of education throughout the commonwealth, it at the same time vested this body with authority to deed the academy lot and building either to the state or to the president and directors of the Literary Fund. With Henry Ruffner, later president of Washington College, now Washington and Lee University, as principal, the new academy began its first session in the fall of 1818. Although Ruffner, after one year, left for another field of educational work, the academy which he launched was a going concern in 1826, as indicated by the following advertisement in the *Western Virginia and Kanawha County Gazette* for October 25 of that year: "The Subscribers [Jacob W. Rand and Hiram R. Howe] respectfully inform the Publick, that the Session in Mercer Academy, which is now under their joint superintendence, will commence on the 30th of October. Parents and guardians who are anxious for the improvement of the youth under their care, are assured that no pains will be spared on our part to render the Instruction as respectable as any in the Western country. One of the professors is a recent graduate of the Ohio University, and will attend to the higher branches of education; young gentlemen who wish to prepare themselves for college, or for entering any class in the above University may be accomodated in this institution."

Instruction was offered in reading and writing at a tuition charge of $8.00 per session; in English grammar, geography, arithmetic, composition and elocution, at $10; and in history, natural philosophy, chemistry, mathematics, "together with the Languages and other collegiate branches," at $12. Each session consisted of five and one half months with the "Fall Session" beginning October 30 and "the Spring, May 16." Boarding charges, "including Table Fare, Lodging, Washing, etc." were $2.75 per week in private homes and $3.00 in "public houses" with deductions by each for Saturday and Sunday absences.

While this academy was never formally recognized as being under the control of the Presbyterian Church, it supplied most of the teachers, and the Charleston congregation contributed funds for its support. In fact, the lot upon which it was built was a gift of David Ruffner to the "Society of Presbyterians." For some time it was used by them as a place of worship and a community assembly hall. For twelve years the room for these purposes was the only place in Charleston, where more than fifty persons could be seated comfortably.

The academy was active until 1862, when its building was taken over by Confederates and used as a storage place for supplies. When they withdrew, it was burned to prevent their supplies falling into the hands of Federals. It was not rebuilt, but its name is commemorated in the Mercer School of the Kanawha County system. Jean M. Brown, *A Brief History of Kanawha Church, Charleston* (Charleston, 1930); West Virginia Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration, *The Presbyterian Churches* (1941), pp. 255-256; *Western Virginia and Kanawha County Gazette*, October 26, 1826; Thomas C. Miller, *History of Education in West Virginia*. p. 41; *Session Acts* (1817-18), pp. 149-151.

age beyond fifteen, may have been adopted with a view to enlarging the proposed appropriations to the Academy.

The period 1840-1842, inclusive, was marked by differences of opinion among the commissioners. For instance, at their meeting held November 9, 1840, a resolution appropriating an expected surplus quota for 1841 to Mercer Academy, was opposed by Thomas Matthews whose vote was recorded. David Ruffner, James C. McFarland, George W. Summers, John Slack, William Millan, Alexander W. Handley, William R. Cox, and Alexander W. Quarrier each favored the appropriation with a recorded vote. The following year, the unexpended balance having declined to $5.13, the aid to Mercer Academy was impliedly rescinded by a statement to the effect that the quota for the current year would not be sufficient "to school all the poor children that will apply." Because "the exigencies of the poor rendered it proper," additional appropriations to the Academy were in 1842 formally withdrawn.

Whether significant or not, the commissioners continued to provide tuition for poor children between the ages of seven and fifteen years, but the maximum rate per child for each day's actual attendance was reduced in 1840 from four to three and one-half cents. For the most part payments continued however to be at the rate of four cents. As the total annual receipts had declined, the period ended with an unexpended balance of only $2.90. Meanwhile the number of children aided had declined from 452 in 1840 to 324 and 326 for 1841-1842, respectively. David Ruffner continued to serve the commission as president, John R. Turner was treasurer, and Alexander W. Quarrier clerk, but the number of commissioners in 1842 was, without explanation, reduced from fifteen to eleven which number was on the following day increased to twelve.

The year 1843 witnessed the beginning of an all but complete change in the personnel and officers of the commission. In that year Spicer Patrick, John C. Thomas, and John P. Street became members and were joined within

the course of the next few years by Alexander W. Handley, Joseph Knotts, Allen M. Smith, Charles Hedrick, S. Robinson, Charles Ruffner, William King, and Mason Campbell. Meanwhile James C. McFarland had in 1843 succeeded David Ruffner as president, but Alexander W. Quarrier continued as clerk and John P. Turner as treasurer. In compliance with the act of March 5, 1846, "amending the present primary school system," Turner was in 1846 made superintendent of schools for the entire county and thus became Kanawha County's first official to bear that title. At the same time S. Robinson succeeded James C. McFarland as president of the commission.

Minutes for the remaining years (1844-1846) during which this system was in operation are fragmentary, but they show total receipts ranging from $990.93 in 1844 to $1034.75 in 1846. The number of poor children accepting their benefits were 415 in 1844, 523 in 1845, 518 in 1846. Meantime the number of poor children had increased from an estimated maximum of 700 in 1844 to 900 in 1846, and the number of "common schools" used in the same period from 35 to 51. Other significant items for these years were that "teachers," formerly "masters," chosen to teach poor children were "those selected by the people of the richer class of the different neighborhoods." The commissioners found its teachers "in general, quite competent to lay the ground work for good common education."

Among the names of teachers appearing in the records for the forties were Charles A. Anderson, Thomas Anderson, W. L. Bondurant, Joseph H. Bousman, William B. Brogan, W. T. Butler, William P. Cobb, John Covert, Benj. Darlington, James L. Davis, James Dawson, Jacob Douglas, John Drennon, Owen Duffy, J. P. Edie, J. W. Field, William Finney, J. M. Foster, David D. Gleason, Peter Grass, John Griffith, William Gunner, Thomas Harmon, Ulysses Hatcher, George W. Hill, Giles S. Holt, James N. Lilly, G. F. Lodge, Robert Malcolm, Elisha Mayes, Robert Millburn, J. Nounnan, William F. Rogers,

George Sample, John H. Sims, Benj. Slack, Thomas Smith, George D. Thomas, Preston S. Turley, M. F. Ward, Augustus A. Watson, A. Wolfe, and G. W. Young.

Equally interesting to the genealogist and the local historian but perhaps more generally informing are the names of the women teachers who in these years received tuition as teachers of poor children in Kanawha County. Although the available records disclose no such teachers in the thirties, there were half a score or more of them in the forties. Among them were Nancy J. Dudding, Caroline Geary, Margaret J. Gumm, Sarah A. Hubbard, Sarah J. Hutchinson, Delinda P. Jopling, Jane Kendall, Eliza Lentz, America McGinnis, Mary Nalle, Catherine M. Payne, Ann E. Putney, Margaret Stuart, and Harriet Walker.

Although the textbooks bought by the commissioners for poor children varied from time to time, those in use in 1845 included Webster's spellers; English Readers; Porter's Rhetorical Reader; the Bible and the New Testament; Ray's, Pike's, and Walsh's arithmetics; Walker's Dictionary; Woodbridge's, Onley's, Mitchell's and Morse's geographies; Smith's and Murray's grammars; and Grimshaw's and Willard's histories of the United States. Rarely did the annual expenditure for books and paper exceed a total of $10.00.

Possible deductions from the above data are informing with respect to the origin and history of West Virginia's free public school system. First of all, they indicate that it was not based upon the schools for the "indigent poor," as maintained later, but upon the "common schools" which had their origin in pioneer days and were the creations of the well-to-do middle class. On this point, it will be recalled that there were 51 common schools in Kanawha County in 1845 and no schools for poor children only. Moreover, the former seem to have been fairly adequate for a sparsely inhabited country with settlements restricted by nature to the best lands.

These data indicate also that Kanawha County poor

parents were not consistently interested in the education of their children. Had they been thus minded, the large unexpended balances reported from time to time by the school commission could and would, as indicated by it, have been spent instead of becoming a source of embarrassment and apology. It will be recalled that the total attendance of poor children never included much more than half the number entitled to the benefits of the Literary Fund and that their attendance was negligible in times of pestilence and panic. This would indicate also that poor parents were generally unwilling, as now, to accept schooling for their children, when given them free of charge. But there is no indication in the record that they objected on the score of being pauperized in the process, for, as stated by the commissioners in 1838, such parents, "joyfully send their children to our schools." Nor is there any evidence of objections on the part of others to indigent children attending the common schools.

The chief cause of the evident failure of the Literary Fund to accomplish its purposes in its initial stages, as indicated by corrective legislation in 1823, 1829, and 1837 was not, therefore, indifference of its beneficiaries or opposition of the well-to-do middle class. It was rather the indifference and neglect, approaching malfeasance, of responsible county officials. This is indicated by legislation safeguarding the use of funds and imposing penalties upon officials, both members of the county courts and school commissioners, for neglect of duty. This was indicated furthermore by the necessity of supplying them with uniform blanks which were fool proof and rogue proof.

Our data are informing also with respect to the origin of the West Virginia practice of entrusting administration of school affairs largely to lawyers. Because of their gratuitous character, faithful services on the part of school commissioners entailed evident hardships, among them being long, tiresome and expensive journeys to the county seat. As most lawyers then resided at the county seats

and made journeys to and from them somewhat regularly and of necessity, responsibility for administering schools for the poor naturally gravitated to them and in time became traditional. This tendency toward lawyer control was accelerated by the fact that the county justices were themselves either barristers or semi-barristers. With the coming of universal manhood suffrage, it was only a step to that political influence, in some cases approaching control, which characterizes school administration in parts of West Virginia today. Had it been from the outset in the contol of all the people, as planned by Thomas Jefferson, the results might well have been different.

Finally, our data seems to refute a rather well established West Virginia tradition to the effect that women teachers are largely a product of the Industrial Revolution. Although many of her counties are said to have had no women teachers until well after the Civil War, Kanawha was not alone in employing them a quarter century earlier, when a teacher was generally referred to as "he" rather than as "she." Similar records for Monroe County indicate that Sarah Lusher was employed there as a teacher as early as 1827. By 1840 a half score or more women teachers had been employed there.[33]

The first permanent public schools in West Virginia were established in Kanawha County as the result of an election held April 22, 1847. With 383 of the approval votes coming from the "Court House" and 135 of them from "Coal's Mouth," the result of this vote was 680 for free schools, to 251 against them.[34] The consequent formal passing of the old and the installation of the new system is described in the following excerpt from the report of the county superintendent for that year:

> The County of Kanawha having by a required majority of votes at the last Spring (1847) election decided in favor of adopting the district

[33] Monroe County School Records.

[34] The vote by districts was as follows: Court House, 383 for, to 42 against; Jones's, 7 for, to 105 against; Coal's Mouth, 135 for, to 61 against; Johnson's Creek, 25 for, to 12 against; Altz's, 25 for, to 12 against; Big Sandy, 67 for, to 7 against; and Fork's of Coal, 36 for, to 12 against. Kanawha County School Records in West Virginia University Library.

free school system, which has the effect to extinguish the present, or old system, after the expiration of the year 1847, the S[chool] Commissioners have not thought it requisite or necessary to make to the Superintendent of Schools the Reports which they otherwise would have done. Consequently your Superintendent is unable to state the No. of indigent children in the County—or the No. in any one district,—or the No. entered by any one Commiss[ioner]s at the different Schools.[35]

The fight for the free public schools was not, however, thus easily won in Kanawha County. Certain of her property owning and conservative elements continued to oppose them and, under an authorizing act of the general assembly, passed January 10, 1853, again submitted the question to a vote of the people.[36] The election was held May 26 of that year and resulted in 956 votes for free schools, to 533 against them. Although the majority in this greatly increased total vote was only six less than in the referendum of 1847, the opposition was not satisfied and questioned the legality of the taxes levied to maintain the new system.[37]

To test their position in this matter William Dickinson and Joel Shrewsbury, partners operating under the firm name of "Dickinson and Shrewsbury," refused to pay their school tax of $350.82 for 1853, and Sheriff James H. Frye was thus forced to collect it through a sale of their property. Through their counsel, Benjamin H. Smith,[38] the partners then sued the sheriff for $700 trespass damages, but the court sustained the sheriff's defense in the public interest, as presented by Andrew Parks and Matthew Dunbar.[39]

With this turn of affairs interest in free public schools grew in Kanawha County. Its example and influence were potent factors in converting the existing educational institutions into a public free school system for all elements of the population of West Virginia, including Negroes. But for the consuming interest of the delegates from

[35] Kanawha County Court Records in West Virginia University Library.
[36] *Session Acts* (1852-53), p. 229.
[37] Kanawha County Court Records.
[38] Judge David McComas was associated with Smith in this case.
[39] For biographical sketch of Mathew Dunbar see Atkinson, *History of Kanawha County*, pp. 298-299.

Kanawha in internal improvements and kindred subjects, they doubtless would have been more enthusiastic over this provision of the new state constitution, founded, as it was, upon public sentiment and the admitted needs of a backward people.

The Star-Spangled Banner: How and Why It Came To Be Written

By J. Henry Francis[1]

Some year ago—let's say about thirty, to satisfy those of you who may have a penchant for approximating and comparing dates—in order to arouse a little more interest in the subject, I undertook to give my high school class the story of the writing of our National Anthem.[2]

Now, whether the class was too large—about 100 pupils; too heterogeneous—mixed, boys and girls, and of all grades, 9 to 12, inclusive; or whether I was too young and nervous to be understandably distinct in my recital of the various details, I have never been quite able to determine. This I do know: I asked for a written review, the results of which were far from being a recommendation for me as a teacher, if they had gotten out.

Two of the papers, brief and to the point—as seen from where *they* "sat,"—stand out in my memory as the prize-winners. Two girls, chums, I discovered later, wrote identically the same story, except that one used the word "knot-hole" where the other used "key-hole":

"Sir Francis Scott Key wrote the Star-Spangled Banner on the back of an old envelop which he saw looking through a knot-hole in his cell, while a prisoner on board a British man-of-war in Boston harbor, watching the attack on Fort McHenry."

Of course, I shall refuse all blame for the poor (?) English in which these two accounts are couched; and shall also object to any and all credit for the extraordinary and

[1] A paper written by Dr. Francis, a native of England, by request of the editor, and printed here in commemoration of Flag Day: June 14, 1942.
[2] By Act of Congress, approved by the President, March 3, 1931.

abnormally long vision claimed for Mr. Key; but I am still wondering a little why and how I had not delivered the details of the narrative more clearly, and it sort of put me on my metal for future like projects.

On the other hand, the experience served to impress indelibly on my mind the need for a better understanding, if possible, of such historical events, and their bearings on our national life.

So, through the ensuing years, while doing what I could to carry out the suggestion implied by the above acquired impression, it has also helped me to bear with the barrage of carping criticisms, excuses, and general denunciation of the song, its origin, and all who in any way seem to endorse it. To the point that I have continued to secretly wish that the poem, the sentiment it expresses, as well as the circumstances which prompted the writing, might be better and more thoroughly understood by all.

True, much of the critical censure has been aimed at and because of the use of the old tune[3]—the tune which was originally written for and used by an ancient London society more noted, perhaps, for its conviviality than for any serious educational or national propensities. This group sang one of its odes, "To Anacreon in Heaven," to the music we now use for our National Anthem; and, as Key, a Baltimore lawyer and newspaper man, is known to have on occasion attended the meetings of the Anacreontic Society, he must have heard and known the "ode," and evidently adopted its peculiar, stately, and forceful rhythm in composing his historic poem.

At all events, the tune fits; it is well written, even if composed by an old "scratch-pen" writer by the name of Smith (John Stafford Smith, to be exact); it is somewhat unique in form; and it has stood the test of long and fairly universal usage. So, even if it is, in its early inception considered crude, it has joined the ranks of those things which

[3] The tune was familiar as the air for the political song, "Adams and Liberty."

we are fond of calling classics; and is something of which we needn't feel in any way ashamed.

It is, as usually printed, arranged for concerted or part-singing; that is, for the four vocal parts of the average chorus; which puts the melody a trifle high for unison singing, and particularly for men's voices. But, a slight adjustment of key (and that's what "keys" are for, in part) brings it within average range, and so does away with that argument.

The words, at times, come in for adverse comment. "Times have changed"; "folks, now-a-days, are not so rabid"; and "we neither want nor can afford, to vent our spleen"; etc., etc. All of which, perhaps, are justly and patriotically conceived, but have, also, been accordingly fully discounted, and certainly cannot apply to the two stanzas (1 and 3, as it now stands) sometimes used, and most decidedly do *not* warrant an objection to the *one* stanza ordinarily sung.

But, let us look at the account of the incident that brought about the writing of the immortal lines.

It is a matter of history that the gallant defense of Fort McHenry, under Major Armistead, began on the morning of Tuesday, September 13, and lasted until the early hours of September 14, 1814. The following rather free transcription is, for the most part culled from a report of George Theodore Sonneck, Chief of the Division of Music, of the Library of Congress (1909), from the newspapers, and other story sources of that period. It may, therefore, be taken to be entirely authentic as to the essential data.

When, after the battle of Bladensburg, the main body of the British army had passed through the town of Upper Marlborough, some stragglers, who had left the ranks to plunder or from some other motive, made their appearance from time to time, singly or in small squads; and Dr. William Beanes, who had previously been very hospitable to the British officers, "put himself at the head of a small body of citizens to pursue and make prisoners" of the ma-

rauders. Information of this proceeding reached the British and Dr. Beanes was promptly seized. The British "did not seem to regard him, and certainly did not treat him, as a prisoner of war, but as one who had deceived and broken his faith with them." Dr. Beanes was the leading physician of his town and so highly respected that the news of his imprisonment filled his friends with alarm. They "hastened to the headquarters of the English army to solicit his release, but it was peremptorily refused," and they were informed that he had been carried as a prisoner on board the fleet. Francis Scott Key happened also to be one of the Doctor's intimate friends; and as Mr. Key, just then a volunteer in Major Peter's Light Artillery, but a lawyer by profession, was a resident of Georgetown, which means practically Washington, the other friends requested him to obtain the sanction of the government to his going aboard the admiral's ship under a flag of truce and endeavoring to procure the release of Dr. Beanes, before the fleet sailed.

Mr. Key readily agreed to undertake the mission, and President Madison promptly gave his sanction to it. Orders were immediately issued to the vessel (the Minden) usually employed in communicating with the fleet in the Chesapeake to be made ready, and Mr. John S. Skinner, who was agent for the government for flags of truce and exchange of prisoners, and who was well known as such to the officers of the fleet, was directed to accompany Mr. Key. As soon as arrangements were made, they hastened to Baltimore, where the vessel was then located, and embarked on their errand.

Nothing was heard until after the enemy had retreated from Baltimore, a week or ten days later, and much concern was rife among friends of the travelers.

Mr. Key said he found the British fleet, at the mouth of the Potomac, and preparing for the expedition against Baltimore. He was courteously received by Admiral Cochrane, and the officers of the army as well as the navy. But when he made known his business, his application was

received so coldly, that he feared he would fail. General Ross and Admiral Cockburn—who accompanied the expedition to Washington—particularly the latter, spoke of Dr. Beanes in very harsh terms, and seemed at first not disposed to release him. It, however, very fortunately happened that Mr. Skinner carried letters from the wounded British officers left at Bladensburg; and in these letters to their friends on board the fleet, they all spoke of the humanity and kindness with which they had been treated after they had fallen into our hands. So that, after a good deal of conversation, and strong representations from Mr. Key, as to the character and standing of Dr. Beanes, and of the deep interest the community in which he lived took in his fate, General Ross said that Dr. Beanes deserved much more punishment than he had received; but that he felt himself bound to make a return for the kindness which had been shown his wounded officers, whom he had been compelled to leave at Bladensburg; and upon that ground, and that only, he would release him. But Mr. Key was at the same time informed that neither he, nor anyone else, would be permitted to leave the fleet for some days; and must be detained until the attack on Baltimore, which was then about to be made, was over. He was assured, however, that they would make him and Mr. Skinner as comfortable as possible while they remained there. Admiral Cochrane, with whom they dined on the day of their arrival, apologized for not accommodating them on his own ship, saying that it was already crowded with officers of the army; but that they would be well taken care of in the frigate "Surprise," commanded by his son, Sir Thomas Cochrane. To this frigate they were accordingly transferred.

Mr. Key had an interview with Dr. Beanes, before General Ross consented to release him. He found him in the forward part of the ship, among the sailors and soldiers. He had not had a change of clothes from the time he was seized, and was constantly treated with indignity by those around him, and no officer would speak to him. He was

treated as a culprit; not as a prisoner of war; and this harsh and humiliating treatment continued until he was placed on board the cartel for the return trip to Baltimore.

Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner remained on board the "Surprise," where they were very kindly treated by Sir Thomas Cochrane, until the fleet reached the Patasco, and preparations were made for landing the troops. Admiral Cochrane then shifted his flags to the frigate, in order that he might be able to move further up the river, and superintend in person, the attack by water, on the fort. Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner were then sent on board their own vessel, with a guard of sailors, or marines, to prevent them from landing. They were permitted to take Dr. Beanes with them, and they thought themselves fortunate in being anchored in a position which enabled them to see distinctly the flag on Fort McHenry from the deck of the vessel. They remained on deck during the night, watching every shell from the moment it was fired until it fell, listening with breathless interest to hear if an explosion followed. While the bombardment continued it was sufficient proof that the fort had not surrendered. But it suddenly ceased some time before day; and as they had no communication with any of the enemy's ships, they did not know whether the fort had surrendered, or the attack upon it had been abandoned. They paced the deck for the rest of the night in painful suspense, watching with intense anxiety for the first streak of dawn, and looking every few minutes at their watches to see how long they must wait for it. Then, as soon as it appeared, and before it was light enough to see objects at a distance, their glasses were turned on the fort, uncertain whether they would find the Stars and Stripes, or the flag of the enemy floating there. At length the light came, and they saw that "our flag was still there." As the day advanced, they discovered, from the movements of the boats between the shore and the fleet, that the troops had been roughly and severely handled, and that many wounded men were being carried to the ships.

At length, Mr. Key was informed that the attack on Baltimore had failed, and the British army was re-embarking, and that he and Mr. Skinner, and Dr. Beanes would be permitted to leave, to go where they pleased, as soon as the troops were on board and the fleet ready to sail.

Mr. Key said, that under the excitement of the stirring experience, he wrote the song, "The Star-Spangled Banner." When asked how he found time during the exciting scenes through which he had been passing, he said he commenced it while on the deck of the vessel, in the fervor of the moment, as he saw the enemy hastily retreating to their ships, and as he looked at the flag he had watched for so anxiously as the morning opened. That he had written some lines, or brief notes that would aid in calling them to mind, upon the back of a letter which happened to be in his pocket. For some of the lines he was obliged to rely wholly on his memory, and that he finished it in the boat on the way to the shore. Then he wrote it out as it now stands, at the hotel, that night on arrival in Baltimore. He said that next morning, after showing it to Judge Nicholson and asking him what he thought of it, that the Judge was so pleased with it that he immediately sent it to the printer, and had copies struck off in handbill form.

A further account of the first publishing of the song, and its reception, from a different but corroborative source, will still further add to our interest and aid in a better and fuller appreciation.

Judge Nicholson, who was Key's brother-in-law, took the draft of the song, as already stated, to arrange for the printing of it. He first took it to the printing office of Captain Benjamin Edes, on North Street, near the corner of Baltimore Street, but the Captain not having returned from duty with the 26th Maryland Regiment, his office was closed, and so the Judge proceeded to the newspaper office of the *Baltimore American* and *Commercial Advertiser*, where the words were set in type by Samuel Sands, printer's apprentice. Copies of the song were struck off in

handbill form and promiscuously distributed on the street. Catching with popular favor like a prairie fire it spread in every direction, was read and discussed; until, in less than an hour, the news was all over the city. Picked up by a crowd assembled about Captain McCauley's tavern, next to the Holiday Street Theater, where two brothers, Charles and Ferdinand Durang, musicians and actors, were stopping, the latter mounted a chair, and rendered it in fine style to the large assemblage.

On the evening of the same day that Mr. Durang first sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," it was again rendered upon the stage of the Holiday Street Theater by an actress and the theater is said to have gained a national reputation thereby.

There is much more data, both interesting and informative, contained in the Sonneck Report, and to those of you who care to pursue the study I recommend the reading of this exhaustive account of the research by the agents of the Librarian of Congress. Our mission, here, is simply to excite and stimulate your patriotic interest in what would seem to be a little understood, much maligned, and seriously neglected item of national expression.

In closing, allow me to present the three stanzas now recognized as our National Anthem, and submit them to you for digestion and approval, and in the fervent hope that this little exposition may have lent some slight assistance in furthering a more unanimous realization of the true significance of its values.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

(Authorized Version)

John Stafford Smith

O say! can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd at the twi-light's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, thro' the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there.

Chorus:

O say, does that Star-Spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore, dimly seen thro' the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream:

Chorus:

'Tis the Star-Spangled Banner: O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

O thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their lov'd homes and the war's desolation!
Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the Heav'n-rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust!"

Chorus:

And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

Francis Scott Key

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

GALLEGHER, JOHN

Service—Maryland Va. No. 1025 No. S. 39561

Enlisted in Maryland, July 8, 1777. Discharged at Annapolis, May 16, 1780. Private in Captain Andrew Hayne's Company, Sixth Maryland Regiment, commanded by Colonel Williams. Was at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Applied for pension, May 23, 1818, Brooke County, Virginia. Aged 63, May 28, 1821. Wife aged 50 but name not given. Names of children: Nancy, 18; Betsy, 16; Rachel, 9; Hetty, 8; William, 11; Caleb, 8.

GALLION, GILBERT

Service—Maryland No. R. 3876

Born in Hartford County, Maryland, March 27, 1758. Enlisted, June, 1777, in company of Captain Patterson and Captain Rogers, Seventeenth Regiment, Maryland Line. Applied for pension, February 26, 1834, Harrison County, Virginia. Supporting claims by John Gawthrop and Sam H. Morris. Claim rejected.

GANDEE (GANDY), URIAH

Service—Pennsylvania Continental No. R. 3890

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1753. Enlisted, May 1, 1776, under Captain Thomas Forrest. Names Colonel Proctor, Colonel Marshall, and Washington, Lafayette and Wayne. Was at Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, and Brandywine.

Applied for pension in Jackson County, November 18, 1835. Claim supported by John M. Kown and Philip Hall. Claim rejected in report which include following additional names: James Maze, Samuel Tanner, Charles Stewart, Bazel Wright, Zachariah Rhodes, Elijah Runion, and Thomas Hughes.

GANT, ERASMUS HORATIO (Cornet of Horse)

Service—Connecticut-Maryland Va. No. 26260 No. S. 10727

Applied for pension, Berkeley County, Virginia, May 26, 1834. Claim supported by Theodore Middleton.

Named cornet of horse in troop of cavalry raised by aid of Maryland Assembly to defend bay shores, 1780. Lieutenant Philip Hill, Captain

James McCubbin Lingain. Statements show that this troop remained in service through 1782 and had at least two skirmishes with the British. Its activity was effective in suppressing disorder along the Eastern Shore as well as in discouraging British raiders.

GAPEN, STEPHEN
Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 2493 No. S. 8545

Enlisted, Fort Minor, Green County, Pennsylvania, 1777, 1781-82, and served 22 months under Captains John Minor, Pigman, Foreman and other units under General Hand. Refers to Foreman massacre and other border events. Mentions Lieutenant James Marshall, Washington County, Pennsylvania.

Applied for pension, August 27, 1832, Monongalia County, Pennsylvania, aged 71. Certificate issued, November 28, 1832. Died, December 26, 1838. Grave in Fort Martin Cemetery, Monongalia County. Among supporting persons were Albia Minor, Jonathan Morris, John Knotts, John Gapen, and George Garrison.

GARTNER, (GARTIN, GARTER, GARLEN) NATHANIEL
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23974 and 303335 No. S. 10719

Born, Orange County, Virginia, 1759. Enlisted, January 1, 1777, Rockingham County, Virginia, and served nine months as an Indian spy on western frontiers. Applied for pension, February 17, 1834, Monroe County, Virginia. Certificate issued, May 7, 1834.

Statements show that from January to March, 1777, he served as a spy under Captain Robert Cravens and Lieutenant Trout, Rockingham County. Marched to Tygart's Valley. Then spent three months at Warrick's Fort. Pursued one band of Indians 40 or 50 miles. Returned home and later was sent back into the Tygart's Valley under Lieutenant John Rice. Later served at Nutter's Fort under Captain William Kincaid. Following capture of James Meek's family on Indian Creek, Monroe County, in 1781, spent some time at Lafferty's Fort, guarding settlements against Indians.

GILLILAN, JAMES (Ensign)
Service—Virginia No. R. 4029

Born, Augusta County, Virginia, 1748. Enlisted Botetourt County, Virginia, 1777, 1782, 1783. Served as sergeant, and ensign two years and ten months, also as Indian spy, under Captains Hamilton, Renick, and Colonels Lewis and Donnally. Filed application for pension, December 17, 1833, Greenbrier County, Virginia. Says he acquired his farm by settlement rights between 1776 and 1783. Claim rejected. Supporting claims by the Reverend Alex Campbell, John Patton, Joseph McClintock, and Henry Hedreich.

GILPIN, WILLIAM
Service—Maryland Va. No. 4149 No. S. 3957

Enlisted, Charles County, Maryland, 1777 to February 23, 1780. Served as private three years under Captain Joe Marbury, Third Maryland Regiment, Brigadier General Smallwood. Saw action at Long Island,

York Island, White Plains, and Brandywine. Received honorable discharge from Major Arch Anderson. Applied for pension, May 25, 1818, Jefferson County, Virginia. Certificate issued, November 6, 1818. Supporting claim by Ferdinand Fairfax. Died in 1835.

GODFREY, JOHN

Service—Virginia No. R. 4083

Enlisted in Fauquier County, Virginia, September, 1776. Served three years and three months as sergeant in company of Captain Smith. Captains Ball, Taliafero, Ballard, Campbell, and Colonel Brook and Colonel Mountjoy. Among his comrades were George P. Smith and George Fisher.

Born in Fauquier County, 1746, removed to Hardy County, 1788, and lived there until 1832 when he moved to the home of his son-in-law, George Duvall, son of the distinguished Colonel John P. Duvall, in Lewis County. He lived in Hardy County during the Revolution. He went from his home to enlist but was told by Colonels Brook and Ashby, after a physician had examined him, that he was unsound and incapable of bearing arms. However, the records indicate that he saw service as stated above.

GLENN, JAMES (Lieutenant)

Born about 1764; ran away from his Berkeley County home at the age of fourteen and joined the army under General Greene. Served with Lieutenant Daniel Bedinger as a sharpshooter in the southern campaigns of 1779-1780. Was at the siege and capture of Yorktown. He was with St. Clair's army in the expedition against the Indians in the west in 1791, and rescued Lieutenant Raleigh Morgan on the day of the terrible defeat of St. Clair's army, November 4, 1781. He was sent by Darke to carry the news of the defeat to Washington. He died in 1827.

Glenn was married twice. His first wife was Jane Duke. They had three children, all of whom died young. His second wife was Ruth Burns, by whom he also had three children: Elizabeth, Mary, and Captain James W.

GOFF, JOB

Service—Rhode Island Va. No. 6035 No. W. 1752

Born in Kent County, Rhode Island, 1760, removed to Birmingham County, Vermont, and came to Rensselaer County, New York, 1782, from thence to Harrison County, Virginia. Enlistment, 1777-1782, in Rhode Island, and served one year under Lieutenant Robert Cook, Ensign John Calvin, Captain Benedict Calvin, Major Isaac Johnson, and Colonel John Abbott. Guarded coast and intercepted and prevented landing of hostile ship.

Pension application, Harrison County, Virginia, August 21, 1832, Harrison County. Certificate issued, February 23, 1833. Died, December 8, 1845.

Married, December 8, 1785, by the Reverend James Guthrie, to Zerviah Waldo, daughter of John and Emma Waldo, who had been married, March 12, 1751. Soldier's wife born in 1760. She made application for

pension, November 8, 1849. She received pension and also bounty land warrant of 160 acres. Among supporting claims were those of Hamilton Gass and Jedidiah Waldo.

GOFF, SALATHIEL

Born, 1748. Died, 1791. Buried beneath a large hickory tree on the farm of the later W. E. Cupp, St. George, Tucker County. Saw service as a Revolutionary soldier and personally knew General Washington. Was first president of the county court of Randolph County, and was active in the settlement of the Cheat River section. He had two brothers, John T., and James, who were likewise active in the early settlements along Cheat River.

GOOD, THOMAS

Service—Virginia No. S. 38742

Enlisted for two years, February, 1776, in Christian County, Kentucky, and served under Captain Hopkins and Colonel Buckner of the Sixth Virginia Regiment, and also in militia companies. Was at the Siege of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis. Received pension in Alabama. Virginia residence is uncertain.

GOOD, PETER

Enlisted in Captain Shepherd's Rifle Company in 1776. Was one of the prisoners from the garrison at Fort Washington, which was surrendered to the British in 1776, who met death on a prison ship, February 15, 1777.

GOODMAN, WILLIAM (Captain-Lieutenant)

Service—Continental Maryland and Virginia No. S. 39600

Enlisted at Baltimore, Maryland, January, 1776. Entered service in a company of artillery, under Captain Nathaniel Smith, and served as a commissioned officer from January 1, 1776, until October following at the port of Baltimore. Then was appointed first lieutenant in First Regiment of U. S. Artillery under Colonel Charles Harrison in Captain William Waters' Company and served until the spring of 1777. Then became Captain-Lieutenant in Captain Drury Ragsdale's command, and served until August, 1779, then left the army. In the fall of 1780, assisted in raising a company of volunteer artillery and served as its captain-lieutenant under Captain Laban Guffingam until the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Applied for pension, aged 64, May 14, 1818, Berkeley County, Virginia. Certificate issued. Died, July 10, 1825. Wife's name Allanor (Eleanor?). Children were Delilah, 20; Otha, 14; Bela, 12; Elizabeth, over 3.

GOODNIGHT, CHRISTOPHER

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 23566 No. W. 9458 B.L.Wt. 75005

Born, Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1762. Died, January 19, 1852. Enlisted, Pennsylvania, fall of 1777, and served six months under Captain Mathias Hensill. Other officers were Lieutenant John Kernsell, Colonel

Willis, Captain Grady, and Generals Washington, Wayne, and Morgan.

Applied for pension, January 24, 1834, Hardy County, Virginia. Certificate issued, February 23, 1834. Married in 1810. Widow, Diannah, aged 95 in 1857, applied for pension, June 6, 1854. Certificate issued to her, and also land grant for 160 acres. Supporting claims by Henry Jones and John Sites.

GOODWIN, FRANCIS

Born in Londonderry, Derry County, Ireland, 1761. Enlisted, March, 1777, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, as an Indian spy, company of Captains Connell, Cook, Evans, Morgan, Colonels Zackquill Morgan, and Morgan, and Generals Hand and McIntosh. Applied for pension, Harrison, County, Virginia, October 24, 1833. Claim rejected. Supporting affidavits by Uriah Ashcraft and John Goodwin.

GORDON, GEORGE

Service—Connecticut Continental Va. No. 12162 No. S. 39599

Born, Volurton, Connecticut, 1749. Died September 1, 1823. Enlisted, at Roseberry, Massachusetts, in 1775 in company under Colonel John Douglas, and continued until December, 1775, when he became corporal under Captain Trawbridge and Colonel Huntington. He was captured in Battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776. Was taken on prison ship, Montor, with hands tied behind him, where he remained several months. He was then transferred or exchanged and returned home the last of 1776. Squire Cady and Anthony Bradford testified for him in Connecticut courts; John Wylie was also a witness.

He applied for a pension, May 9, 1818, Norwich, Connecticut. Certificate issued, June 23, 1819. He applied for a transfer of pension to Ohio County, Virginia, May 7, 1821.

GRAHAM, DUNCAN

Greenbrier County, Virginia, courts in 1786 show that Duncan (Grymes) Graham was recommended for a pension, having been discharged from the Continental Army for wounds. (There being no surgeon in this county to examine his wounds.)

Before the same court, 1791, Graham produced a certificate of his service signed by Brigadier General Hugar which was lost or misplaced in the clerk's office. Said Graham swore that he enlisted, February 10, 1775, in the Eighth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Muhlenberg, and also served with the South Carolina troops in Colonel Hugar's Regiment until discharged in November, 1782. In 1793, John Stuart swore in the Greenbrier County Court that the certificate showing Graham's service in the American Army in the late war had been lost or miscarried.

GRAHAM, THOMAS

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 15050 No. S. 39620

Enlisted in Pennsylvania, March 1776, as private under Captain Patrick Anderson and Colonel Atley. Saw service at Long Island, where Colonel

Atley was captured and Lieutenant-Colonel Perry killed. He was also in the fighting at Fort Washington, where he was wounded in the right hand and so disabled that he was discharged at Philadelphia, 1777. Applied for pension, Brooke County, Virginia, May 23, 1818. Certificate was issued, September 30, 1819. His wife was aged 60 and a daughter, Mary, 34, in 1818.

GRASS, PETER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23194 No. S. 8599

Enlisted, 1777, Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia, under Captain Thomas Smith, Lieutenant Charles Barkins. Marched to Fort Union, now Lewisburg, where these troops were included in a detachment from Rockbridge, Augusta, and Rockingham Counties, under Colonel Adam Dickinson, George Skillilem and Major Samuel McDowell. Marched to Point Pleasant and was there when Cornstalk, his son, and Chief Red Hawk were killed by frontiersmen. He later saw service at Fort Clover Lick, on the West Fork of the Monongahela River, and elsewhere on western borders under Captain William Anderson and Captain William Kincaid. Later he served against the British on the James River guarding magazines, making a total service of thirteen months. He lost his discharge papers.

Applied for pension, Kanawha County, November 12, 1833, and certificate was issued November 24, 1833. Supporting claims by H. Mann and S. J. Spangling.

GREATHOUSE, John

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 5998 No. S. 8630

Greathouse, aged about 60 years in 1832, made oath before Harrison County court, that he enlisted in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, 1777, in Captain Kilgore's Company of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, afterwards commanded by Colonel Broadhead, that he served three years, was in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Paoli, and was discharged at Pittsburgh, March, 1780. Pension was granted. Soldier died September 25, 1838. Supporting claims made by Jacob Coplin and Christopher Nutter.

GREEN, SAMUEL

No. R. 4275

Application made for pension while residing in Lewis County, Virginia, but claim was rejected.

GREEN, WILLIAM

Enlisted in 1775 in Captain Stephenson's Rifle Company. Appears to have joined the detachment while it was at Roxbury Camp, September 10.

GRAY, DAVID

Enlisted in Captain Stephenson's Company in 1775. After the war, he resided in Shepherdstown, and then may have moved to near Leetown,

where he is buried. His wife was Elizabeth Craighill. His brother, John, enlisted in Shepherd's Company in June, 1776, and was killed, December 27, of the same year.

GREGORY, JAMES

Service—North Carolina, Virginia Va. No. 23334 No. R. 4292

Born in Gloucestershire, England, May 14, 1752. Emigrated to Virginia at age of 18 and settled in Augusta County. Served in the Revolution under Captain Sam Wilson and Colonel Lewis after enlistment in Augusta County.

Married Eleanor (Ellinor) Dikes, September 1, 1788, with the Reverend John Alderson as minister. Soldier applied for pension, August 29, 1832. Soldier died, November 30, 1836. Widow applied for pension, April 22, 1843, in Greenbrier County. Apparently dropped from the rolls on the ground that patrol duty on the frontier settlements afforded no grounds for pensions. Supporting claims by John McElhennery, Joshua and John Doman, Thomas Creigh, George Witzell, Mark Goshen.

GRIFFE, HUGH

Executive order of the State of Virginia, December 16, 1809, allowed land bounty to Hugh Griffe for his services in the Continental Line as a private for three years of the Revolutionary War. Order was issued in Berkeley County, Virginia, in February, 1810, that Margaret Neill, wife of John Neill of Shepherdstown, formerly Margaret Griffe, be recognized as the heir of Hugh Griffe, deceased, who had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and who had enlisted in Shepherdstown in the company of William Darke. Bounty Land Warrant 5845 in Margaret Neill's favor was issued.

GRIFFIN, ELIJAH

Service—Virginia No. R. 4307

Enlisted, Halifax County, Virginia, February, 1781. In Muhlenberg County, Virginia, February 15, 1836, aged 75. Griffin applied for pension for services under Captains Stamford, Long, Grimes, Fualcover, and Colonel Rogers in Siege of Yorktown and other points. Supporting claims by Wallace Wilson and Robert W. Fitts. Following record was filed: "This is to certify that Elijah Griffing, soldier of militia from Halifax County, is discharged of his *tower* of duties of three months." Dated, April 9, 1781, signed by Richard Lanier, Corporal. Claim rejected as having served less than six months.

GRIFFITH, ELISHA (Sergeant)

Service—Maryland Va. No. 30326 No. S. 10199

Born, 1750, Frederick County, Maryland. Enlisted, December 25, 1776, Frederick Town, Maryland, and served more than twenty months as first sergeant under Captain Ralph Hillery, Lieutenant Thomas Kirk, and Colonel Charles Betty, Maryland Line Regiment. Statement also mentions Lieutenant Elisha Bell, Ensign Charles Busey, Joseph Madden, Lieutenant-Colonel William Betty, Brigadier-General Thomas Johnson.

Supporting claims were made by Thomas McKinley and Joseph Winters.

Pension application made, August 22, 1832, in Harrison County, where Griffith had moved after coming from Maryland to Kanawha County. Certificate issued, January 14, 1836, declared not entitled by Special Agent Singleton, but later reinstated.

GRIFFITHS, ABRAHAM

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 4716 No. W. 7587

Enlisted, 1776, Berks County, Pennsylvania, and served until July, 1779, under Captain John Day or Doyle, First Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, under Colonel Edward Hand. Saw action at Brandywine, Germantown, Trenton, Piscataway. Honorably discharged at West Point, New York.

Applied for pension, October 27, 1818, aged 66, and certificate was issued December 1, 1818. Died October, 1824. Married, Reading, Pennsylvania, July 24, 1781, to Anna Maria Boyer. Widow applied for pension, April 22, 1842, in Greenbrier County. She had three sons and one daughter. In 1818, she was 62 years old. Her petition was granted and certificate issued April 6, 1843.

GUINN (GWIN), ANDREW

Service—Virginia Va. No. 13017 No. S. 37980

Served three years as private under Captain M. Bowser, Continental Establishment, Twelfth Virginia Regiment, Colonel J. Woods, after enlisting in Augusta County, Virginia, in June, 1776. Applied for pension, October 26, 1818, aged 60 or 70 years, in Hampshire County, Virginia. Certificate issued, July 15, 1819. Supporting claims by Edward Williams, Ensign in the Eighth Virginia Regiment.

GUSEMAN, ABRAHAM

Guseman, who enlisted in the opening years of the Revolution in a company organized in Berkeley County, Virginia, served seven years as a private. A statement by Mrs. Susannah Guseman Cobun says that her father, Abraham Guseman, "Who enlisted in the Revolutionary Army from Harpers Ferry, Virginia, when but 17 years of age, served his country faithfully for seven years, and was wounded three times. He carried a bullet through his life that he received in his first engagement. His second wound was a saber cut on the head during a cavalry charge. During his seventh year of service, he was so severely wounded that he was unfitted for further field duty. Therefore, he returned to Harpers Ferry, determined to still give everything possible in service for his country, so he spent his time mending the old 'flintlocks' and other equipment of the active soldiers." Guseman, who died in 1821, is buried in the Oak Grove Cemetery, Monongalia County.

GWINN, SAMUEL

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23706 No. S. 17992

Born, Augusta County, Virginia, 1750, or 1752. Served on the western frontiers from 1771 to 1774, and later under Captains Landbridge and

Glass, and Colonel Andrew Lewis. He also mentions Lieutenant Thompson, Lieutenant Donnelly, Captain John Stewart, Colonel Charles Lewis. Pension certificate issued, 1834, but dropped in 1835 on statement that his service was not in organized army service. Application shows that he had moved with his wife and ten children to Monroe County, 1776-78.

HAAS, CHRISTIAN

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 16070 No. S. 5478

Born in Strasburg, Germany. Enlisted in North Hampton County, Pennsylvania, 1775-1776. Served ten months under Captain Koontz, Pennsylvania Line, and Colonels Strout and Hickman. Other officers were Captains John Siefret, Strothers, Slaybash, Santee, and others on frontier and in eastern campaigns. Applied for pension in Hampshire County, Virginia, February 25, 1833. Certificate issued, June 26, 1833. Claim supported by John Jacob, George Eskridge, James Higgins, John Brady, John H. Maxwell, James Taylor.

HACKER, JOHN

Served as a matross with General George Rogers Clark in his campaign against Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Represented Harrison County in negotiations with the Indians in making treaty of Fort Greenville, Ohio, in 1795. Born near Winchester, Virginia. Married Margaret Sleeth, and raised a large family. Pioneer, magistrate, sheriff, 1799-1801. First settler on Hacker's Creek, Lewis County, between 1769 and 1773. Died, April 20, 1824.

Two daughters were victims of the Indians. The following children survived him: William Hacker, deceased; John Hacker, deceased; Margaret Hacker, deceased; Sarah Smith (formerly Hacker); Jonathan Hacker, Alexander Hacker, Absolom Hacker, Thomas Hacker, Elizabeth Hardman (late Hacker), Mary Ann Helmick.

HADDOCK, WILLIAM

Service—Virginia Va. No. 6810 No. S. 8694

Born in Fauquier County, Virginia, 1758. Enlisted in Hampshire County, 1778, and served twenty months in the Virginia service during the Revolution under Captain Robert Cunningham, Colonel Gibson, and General McIntosh. Applied for pension, Harrison County, January 26, 1833, and certificate was issued, March 5, 1833. Dropped from the rolls, 1835.

HAGLE, JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7007 No. S. 8669

Born in Schuykill County, Pennsylvania, 1750. Entered military service in West Augusta, later Randolph and Monongalia Counties, in 1774, and re-enlisted in 1776, in the militia under Captains Stuart, Skidmore, Lieutenant White, Colonel Lewis, Colonel Lowther and Colonel Duvall. Applied for pension, Lewis County, August 7, 1832. Certificate issued, February 19, 1833, but suspended, 1836. Supporting claims by George Bush and Adam Fisher.

HAINES, PETER

Peter Haines served as a private in Captain Abraham Shepherd's company of Rawlings' Regiment of Continental troops. His name is on payroll for the period from July 1, 1776, to January 1, 1779, which says, "Enlisted, July 10, 1776; made prisoner, November 16, 1776. Pay charged for 29 months, 20 days." This company was raised by Captain Hugh Stevenson and Henry Bedinger as ensign and Samuel Findley as second lieutenant. Stevenson marched the company from Morgan's Grove near Shepherdstown, July 17, 1775. It served as an independent company for one year, and then became a part of the Continental troops, July 10, 1776, at Bergin, New Jersey.

Applied for pension, April 21, 1818, Jefferson County. Certificate issued, September 21, 1819. Supporting affidavit by Captain Abraham Shepherd. Soldier was born about 1754 and died in 1844. His wife was 63 years old in 1820.

HALE, EDWARD

Born, about 1750, and was active in border affairs. He was a soldier in the Revolution in 1781 under Captain Shannon whose company operated in North Carolina. He married Patsy Perdue and spent the later years of his life on Wolf Creek in the New River Valley in Monroe County. Their children were Thomas, Isaac, Charles, Jesse, Isaiah, Daniel, Elias, William, Mary, and Phoebe.

HALEY, ANTHONY

Pension applications made in 1818 and in 1820 before the Harrison County Court, stating that Haley, aged 60 in 1820, had enlisted in the year, 1778, in Colonel Blueford's Regiment, Captain Catlett or Captain Howard's Company, Virginia Line, and that he served to the end of the war. He was in the battle of Hanging Rock. Pension certificate No. 16737. Supporting affidavit by Jemimi Norman. Haley's family, 1820, was as follows: Wife, aged 49, Betsy, 20; James, 17; Mary, 15; Miranda, 9; Gabriel, 4.

HALL, JOSEPH

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7497 No. S. 37983

Enlisted, Augusta County, Virginia, in the spring of 1776, as a private in a company of regulars, commanded by David Stephenson and attached to the Eighth Regiment of the Virginia troops under General Muhlenberg. He continued in service about two years when the Eighth Regiment was consolidated with the Twelfth Regiment under Colonel Bowman, and remained with this unit two years longer.

Pension application, July 20, 1818, aged 67, Harrison County, Virginia. Certificate issued, March 11, 1819, and second statement filed June 22, 1820. Two heirs named, Sarah, 28, a daughter, and a grandson, aged 10.

HALL, WILLIAM

Service—Delaware Va. No. 18703 No. W. 7639

Enlisted, in Delaware, 1777, and served one year as private and two

years as sergeant in Captain Perry's Company. Although no papers of this unit are filed in Delaware office, service of the company is admitted. Applied for pension, Monongalia County, June 22, 1833, and certificate issued September 16, 1833. Soldier died, April, 1835. He had been born, January 21, 1753.

The record of marriage of William Hall (blacksmith), and Betsy Wasles or Maples, Sussex County, Delaware, March 11, 1779, by the Rev. Matthew Wilson, D.D., former pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Lewes (improperly called Lewistown) is on file. There were two Elizabeth Halls, the latter being Elizabeth Stevenson Hall, which leaves uncertainty in the records. Elizabeth Maples Hall, 80 years old in 1843, when she applied for a pension, died in 1845. She was born, January 26, 1763. Other members of the family included Jane Maple, born, 1782; Sarah Rex, born, 1793; Elizabeth Martin, born, 1800; Lemuel Hall, Jonathan Hall, born, 1785; John L. Hall; Manny Hall, born, 1787 and died 1793; and James, born 1789, and died, 1793. Supporting claims filed by Joseph Sapp, Henry Downs, John Downs, Jacob Hall, brother, Lydia Butcher.

HAMILTON, JOHN

Service—North Carolina No. R. 4516

Born, Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1756. Served ten months in the North Carolina Militia under Captain John Griffith. Volunteered in the light infantry of the line under Captain Little for seven or eight months. First, Fourth and Seventh Regiments are mentioned. Colonel Thackston and General Sumpter were officers. Pension applied for October 30, 1834, Logan County, Virginia, but claim was rejected.

HAMMER, PALSER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 6290 No. S. 6950

Served as a private nine months under Captains Life, Keoffer, Davis, and Lieutenants Koffer and Shaffer, Virginia and Pennsylvania Line, General Washington, and General Lafayette. Enlisted from Philadelphia in 1776-77, and from Augusta County, Virginia, 1778-81. Applied for pension, Pendleton County, February 6, 1833, and certificate was issued, February 27, of same year. Supporting claims filed by Zachariah Rexrode, Z. Dyer, and Michael Hoover.

HAMMER, PETER

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 12361 No. W. 5699

Born, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, August 9, 1757. At age of six, moved to New Jersey. Resided there three years, then moved to York County, Pennsylvania. At age of 20, moved to Frederick County, Maryland, to Fayette County, Pennsylvania, thence to Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, to Fayette County again in 1810, and thence to Monongalia County, Virginia.

Claimed fifteen months service after enlisting in Bucks County, under Captains Michael Dowvell, Bailey, Mackey, and Stake in the First Pennsylvania Regiment under Colonel Thompson, Colonel Donelson, and

General Putnam. Marched through Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and New York during his service. Certificate issued after memorial to President Andrew Jackson in his behalf by group of soldier comrades. Among comrades were John White, Jonathan Neely, and James McElhaney. Other persons named were Simon Shore, Samuel Swearingen, and Thomas Bogges. Pension application of 1832 granted in 1833, but was suspended, 1835.

Monongalia County court shows record of marriage of Peter Hammer to Sarah Pearce, September 17, 1812. Sarah Rice mentioned as his widow, November 29, 1853, which may indicate a second marriage as she was only 60 years old in 1854 when she applied for pension.

Book Reviews

JAMES MADISON, THE VIRGINIA REVOLUTIONIST. By Irving Brant. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1941. Pp. 471. $4.50.

With considerable justification, Madison has been called the Father of the Constitution, but the public knows little of his career and contributions to our country. This is not as it should be; consequently an honest study of the first three decades of his precocious career is welcome, particularly since the book is the first installment of what promises to be the most authoritative Madison biography.

Because shy, quiet and physically insignificant people are often suspect in a world that places a high premium on oratory and a commanding presence, it is fortunate that Mr. Brant is sympathetic toward his subject. This attitude is particularly commendable since the latter was a statesman who impressed many as possessing a dry and somewhat "mousey" personality. The volume, however, is not only free from the defects common to biographies whose authors and subjects are not temperamentally congenial, but it also avoids the opposite extreme of being the usual eulogistic authorized life. In the main, Brant writes objectively, and he is no party to any effort to depict Madison as a personification of The Beatitudes. In fact by citing some of young Madison's ribald and intemperate writing, he attempts to revise the usual conception of him as being either painfully proper or an abstract intelligence incapable of experiencing strong human emotions. This charge that Madison's anecdotes were occasionally somewhat improper had been made more than a century earlier by Sir Augustus Foster, the British ambassador in Washington at the outbreak of the War of 1812.

Madison was one of the young revolutionary leaders in Virginia who chafed at the lack of aggressive zeal for independence displayed by many of the older members of the Virginia Assembly. Thus he furnishes further evidence that it is unnecessary to be a dashing, teeth gnashing exponent of the strenuous life in order to qualify as a revolutionary. On the other hand the evidence gives no warrant for thinking of Madison as primarily a man of action, and the insistence of many of his contemporaries and of subsequent generations that he was the office-lawyer type seems justifiable.

It is fitting that the biography of Madison should be written by one who like him possesses highly developed analytical power and who also displays a mastery of argument. Unfortunately the exercise of these talents results in the narrative being so frequently interrupted for the painstaking consideration of controversies, relevant and otherwise, that its strength is impaired. The volume contains enough pedestrian writing to prevent its being designated as a book that cannot be laid aside until it is finished.

In view of the present wave of intolerance, it is refreshing to read of Madison's success in persuading George Mason to include a guarantee of religious freedom in the bill of rights which he drafted for Virginia. The author's detailed discussion of Madison's participation in the successful movement to disestablish the church in the Old Dominion seems to be warranted. As state legislator, executive councillor and Continental congressman Madison was faced with a problem which is very much with us today, war-time financing. His stand on this issue indicates a grasp of economics shared by few of his contemporaries.

An important feature of this work is its exhaustive and convincing refutation of the contention of Van Tyne *et al.* that during the Revolution sovereignty resided in the states and that nationalism at the very earliest was a product of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Brant proves that both the Founding Fathers and their constituents thought and acted in continental terms.

The practice of putting all the citations together at the rear instead of inserting them as footnotes, very time-consuming for the reader, is followed in this biography. Such inconveniences, however, will not prevent many who read this first volume from looking for the appearance of other volumes in this comprehensive study of an able and incorruptible American statesman.

Morris Harvey College CARROL H. QUENZEL.

THE SPRINGS OF VIRGINIA. By Perceval Reniers. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. 301. $4.00.

In Perceval Reniers' *The Springs of Virginia* the Southerner and his lady come to life again to parade before us in a never-ending line of pageantry and of beauty. The author goes back to the latter years of the eighteenth century and from that time through the greater part of the nineteenth century tells the story of the old springs—a story of people, also, for to those springs flocked everybody who was anybody in the South both before and after the Civil War. The princely planters, the rich Northerners, the famous Europeans, the fascinating belles of the Nineties, the sick, the tired, and the discouraged came to drink the famous waters—in fact, the book is so replete with famous names and personalities that one can be quite sure Mr. Reniers wrote strictly from the record. History gives us such men as Washington, Jefferson, Lee, Clay, and Tyler in the light of their achievements; Mr. Reniers gives them to us in the light of their folly, for to the Springs flocked these gentlemen and others of their ilk either in search of physical or political health. Here is recorded their charm, for each had a way with the ladies and the swashbuckling young bloods who arrived driving their four-in-hands in the most expert manner. It is hard to believe that the ballroom of the Greenbrier is today graced by such beauties as Irene Langhorne, the famous Gibson girl; or that another Minnie Allen steps lightly through a waltz.

No visitor spent his vacation at any one Spring. No, indeed! He made a tour of the Springs, those that were "most strongly impregnated with

minerals, heat, fashion, and fame." Where the tour began and ended depended upon the individual requirements of the tourist. Usually, he began with Warm Springs and ended with Warm Springs, weighing himself in and out, to see just how much he had benefited from the cure. But if he was a victim of phthisis or dyspepsia, he began at White Sulphur and ended at Hot or Warm Springs for the steam baths. But no matter where he began or ended his tour, it all amounted to the same thing. According to one host, he ended up having been charged, salted, sweetened, and boiled, and his tour always included Warm, Hot, White Sulphur, Sweet, Salt Sulphur, and the Red Sulphur Springs.

When one reads of the poor accommodations, the indescribable filth predominating, the coughing of the consumptives, the fleas, flies, and the hogs that rooted under the cottages, one wonders why anyone left his broad acres to make the tour of the Springs. Ah, there were reasons! The belles came because their mamas and papas, as well as themselves, were looking for the young bloods driving the four-in-hands. Fortune hunters came looking for some unsuspecting belle whose father was in the money. Papa came because the waters were recommended as a sure cure for the gout. The young bloods came seeking the belles, and relief from the hacking coughs brought on by riotous living. "No other places in the whole South were the equal of the Springs for the making of marriages . . . the business of healing and the business of pairing went on furiously side by side. A two weeks' chase would do more for a girl than a year of sitting at home." Consequently, flight and pursuit became the order of the day. As the belles toured the Springs, the young gentlemen followed. The son of President Van Buren was the not unwilling victim of such a chase. He married Angelica Singleton, daughter of one of the Springs most faithful tourists.

Each of the Springs had its noted characteristics which endeared it to its visitors. At the White Sulphur at one time was Colonel John Fry, host par-excellence; at the Sweet, the mutton was equal to the finest in England; at the Hot, one found a mecca for the afflicted; at the Red Sulphur, hope for the consumptives who shared the common dipper with their healthier sisters and brothers; at the Fauquier White, young ladies of pale translucent loveliness who reigned as Queens of Love and of Beauty over the medieval tournaments so popular at that resort. How Edgar Allen Poe would have loved and pictured these pale, languid beauties!

To read Mr. Reniers' book is to become entangled in a by-gone age's silks and satins, muslins and tarlatans; with the famous Mrs. Radeford's champagne filled slipper, the fancy masked balls, and belledom which is said to have ended the day Miss Gertrude Rives jumped her horse over every tennis net on the lawn to win a bet. Mr. Reniers, formerly a dramatic and motion picture critic on the New York *Evening Post* and the *Independent Weekly* and later a free lance writer, now lives in an upland valley of the Alleghenies, near the White Sulphur. He must know the White Sulphur of today, and it must have been great fun for him to go back to another era, and dig up the lovely women and the

swashbuckling gentlemen, whose ghosts, I am sure after having read the book, haunt the rows of cottages, and gaze wistfully through the windows when a big party is waxing gay in the ballroom of the Greenbrier—for theirs was a gay if somewhat ignorant and shallow age, and they, themselves, worshipers of Hygeia, high priestess of healing, but worshiping only in those places where they could touch the hem of the garment of gentility.

Charleston West Virginia

Cecile R. Goodall.

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

National Municipal Review (April, 1942), *Oglebay—the People's Park*, by Paul K. Morris.

West Virginia Review (March, 1942), *Boone County Personalities*, by Luther Jones; *History of Boone County*, by Sigfus Olafson; *Charleston's Dunkirk*, by Mary Eloise Turner; *Virginia West of the Alleghenies*, by W. B. Haught.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (April, 1942), *Indians and Early Explorers in the Valley*, by Walter H. Buck; *An Exchange of Letters Between Jefferson and Quesnay de Beaurepaire*, contributed by John G. Roberts.

Americana (April, 1942), *Colonel William Fleming, Commissioner To Examine and Settle the Public Accounts in the Western Country, 1782-83*, by William D. Hoyt, Jr.; *The Genesis of Weem's "Life of Washington,"* by William Alfred Bryan.

Journal of Southern History (May, 1942), *The Origin of the Democratic Machine in Virginia*, by Allen W. Moger.

Indiana Magazine of History (March, 1942), *The Northwest Indian and the British Preceding the War of 1812*, by Cecil K. Byrd; *Civil War Recollections*, by Henry C. Barnett.

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly (April-June, 1942), *The Historic Rural Church*, by Roy E. Bowers; *Travel Notes of a Mid-Nineteenth Century Frenchman*, by Bertha R. Leaman.

Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine (April, 1942),*Copies of Extant Wills from Counties Whose Records Have Been Destroyed*, by George Harrison Sanford King; *Abraham Lincoln, Demigod* by James Douglas Anderson.

William and Mary College Quarterly (April, 1942), *The Colonial Churches of Charles City County, Virginia*, by G. C. Mason; *Some Colonial Homes of Middlesex County*, by C. C. Chowning; *William Waller Hening*, by W. J. Van Schreeven; *William Byrd and His Secret Diary*, by James Southall Wilson.

NEWSPAPERS:

Braxton Democrat (Sutton), *Braxton County's Place in the Sun*, a serial, by O. O. Sutton, March 19, 26.

FAIRMONT TIMES, *Sketch of Dr. Zedekiah Kidwell*, March 19; *Map of Marion County, by Russell Morris, 1904*, March 23; *Decision to Postpone Celebration of Marion County's 100th Birthday*, March 26; *When Marion County Was Formed*, by E. E. Meredith, March 31; *Mrs. N. R. C. Morrow of Fairmont Writes Autobiography—"Golden Years in Retrospect,"* April 12.

FAIRMONT WEST VIRGINIAN, *Turley Writes Historical Script—Dramatizes Events Leading up to Formation of First Marion County Court, April, 1842*, March 29; *History Advisers Named by Mayor*, April 28.

HERALD-DISPATCH (Huntington), *"Weather Girls," Betty Jo Barbean and Betty Shye of Marshall College, First Women in U. S. to Ever Crash the "No Man's Land"—U. S. Weather Bureau*, March 30.

MONROE WATCHMAN (Union), *Miss Louise McNeill, West Virginian, Has Poem Published in February Issue Atlantic Monthly—Life Sketch Appears*, March 19; *Summers County Plans Monument to Dead of War I and War II*, April 30.

CLAY COUNTY PRESS (Clay), *History of the Clay Methodist Church*, by Mrs. P. C. Cune and Mrs. Walter Coplin, April 9.

CLARKSBURG EXPONENT, *Chapel Woman, Mrs. C. H. Gerwig, Has Three Lyrics Accepted for Publication*, April 2.

GRAFTON NEWS, *Frederick Warder Day Celebration of Heroic Action of Java*, May 1.

GRANTSVILLE NEWS, *A Brief History of Grantsville*, by Louis Reed, March 19; *Brief History of Calhoun County, by Lorentz C. Hamilton, Placed in Cornerstone of New Court House Now Under Construction—Story in "News,"* March 26; *History of Calhoun County*, by Harold Proudfoot, April 2.

GRANT COUNTY PRESS (Petersburg), *Newspaperman Writes About Mrs. Anna Norman Oates, "Little Lady Poet of the Mountains,"* by Charles W. Duncil, April 16.

INDEPENDENT HERALD (Pineville), *Bones of Lewis Wetzel, Pioneer Border Defender, To Be Given Military Rites at Burial in August*, March 27.

THE MOUNTAINEER (Ripley), *Early History of Pioneer Days in Jackson County: The Morrison Family*, a serial, by Tommie Sewell, March 20, 27; April 3, 10, 17, 24; May 1, 8; *Early History of M. E. Churches in Ripley*, a serial, by the Rev. John J. Loudin, April 3, 10.

NEW HAVEN NEWS, *Roush Family Publishes History*, by Julia Roush O'Melia, March 26.

NICHOLAS CHRONICLE (Summersville), *Methodists in Early Nicholas, 1773 to Date*, by W. G. Brown, April 23; *Early Presbyterianism in the Mountain Region, Including Nicholas County*, by John Kuntz, May 7.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Historic and Scenic Points Abound Along Staunton Pike Route*, by Arthur Ball, March 15; *Sketch of Cokeley Family from 1750*, by Minnie K. Lowther, March 29.

POCAHONTAS TIMES (Marlinton), *Sketch of the Poage Family*, by Susan A. Price, March 26; *Sketch of the Herold Family in America*, by Dr. Amos L. Herold of Denton, Texas, April 9.

PENNSBORO NEWS, *Memories of the Old Spring Hill Church*, by J. L. Perkins, April 16.

SHEPHERDSTOWN INDEPENDENT, *Article on Belle Boyd* (spy in service of "Stonewall" Jackson) *in February Issue of "Southern Literary Messenger,"* April 8.

SHINNSTON NEWS, *History of the Harmer Family in Shinnston*, by Harvey W. Harmer, April 2, 9, 16.

WAYNE COUNTY NEWS, *County's Oldest Church History Covers Period of 119 Years—1823-1942; Old Silver Creek Baptist Church Rededicated*, by W. B. Ward, April 17.

WEBSTER REPUBLICAN (Webster Springs), *West Virginia Novel "Dr. Henry" Soon To Be off Press—by Ruth Reddy Buffington*, March 25.

WILLIAMSON DAILY NEWS, *Early History of Williamson Gleaned from Old Clipping*, April 14.

WIRT COUNTY JOURNAL (Elizabeth), *Pioneer History of Wirt County*, a serial, by Tommie Sewell, March 27; April 3, 10, 24; May 1.

WHEELING INTELLIGENCER, *Cresaps School in Marshall County Named for Col. Michael Cresap*, May 1; *George Rogers Clark's Trip to the Ohio and Kanawha Rivers, 1772*, May 1.

Recent Accessions to the State Department of Archives and History

Compiled by Nancy Wilson, *Librarian*

Ames, Susie M. *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century.* Richmond, Dietz Press, 1940. 274 p.

This volume gives the development of various economic and institutional features of the 17th century through the use of contemporary sources not easily available. The Eastern Shore of Virginia, one of the second earliest settled, is the area Miss Ames chose for investigation. Although there are variations of development due primarily to geographic factors, the conditions of life presented for the Eastern Shore are, in general, typical of 17th century life in other tidewater rural sections.

Buck Pearl S. *Dragon Seed.* New York, The John Day Co., c 1941. 378 p.

Like the two classic novels, *The Good Earth* and *The Mother*, this new Buck novel tells of the plain Chinese people who dwell close to the soil. A soil now trodden by the invader. Scores of moving portraits make the pattern of the novel not that of war, but that of the lives of people going on in their several ways, whatever the gods may send.

Eavenson, Howard N. *The First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry.* Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Privately printed, Koppers Building, 1942. 701 p.

This volume comprises the early history of coal mining both abroad and in this country. Much of the text consists of quotations, some of which are very long. Our present viewpoint of coal is vastly different from the one of earlier days. The quotations used in the text give a truer picture of the feeling of those early days, than a paraphrase of them could give. Mr. Eavenson arranged the historical part of his book in the first part, and the tables which record the growth of the coal industry are in the last half.

Thomas, Jean. *Blue Ridge Country*, ed. by Erskine Caldwell. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, c 1942. 338 p.

The Blue Ridge Country begins in northeast Virginia and includes parts of seven other states—northeast Kentucky, all of West Virginia, eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and foothills in South Caro-

lina, Georgia, and Alabama. In *Blue Ridge Country*, Miss Thomas has written a book which is the fruit of years of intimate acquaintance with mountain people and their ways. Here is a chronicle of the feuds of Hatfields and McCoys, Martins and Tollivers; a record of mountain religious customs and superstitions, of legends and play-making, and of singing on the mountain side.

MORTON, LOUIS. *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall.* Williamsburg, Virginia, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1941. 332 p.

A true estimate of Robert Carter's importance is gained not from his public career, but from his economic and social position in the Old Dominion. Planter, manufacturer, and trader, Robert Carter was a man of cultivation, interested in science, in religion, and in music. Mr. Morton has used the story of Carter's life as a framework upon which to construct an account of the economic and social aspects of life on Carter's plantation. His account of the management of the Carter estates fills a gap in the social and economic history of the Virginia Colony in the 18th century.

HAMILTON, HOLMAN. *Zachary Taylor, Soldier of the Republic.* New York, Bobbs-Merrill Company, c 1941. 335 p.

Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough and Ready," was a professional soldier and typical of the best type of professional soldier: loyal, brave, resourceful, able, dependable, as simple in his tastes as Grant or Lincoln, both of whom, with Lee and Davis, were once under his command. Mr. Hamilton has told Taylor's story with simplicity and unpretentiousness. Taylor is seen as a disciplinarian, but not a martinet, jealous of the rights of his men and thoughtful of their comfort, careless in his dress, unassuming in manner—a homespun character.

DAVIS, JULIA. *The Sun Climbs Slow.* New York, Dutton, 1942. 255 p.

Julia Davis is a native of Clarksburg, West Virginia. She is the daughter of John W. Davis, distinguished lawyer, and former American Ambassador to Great Britain. Her novel, *The Sun Climbs Slow*, is on a universal theme: the recuperative force of the human heart after the hurricane of disaster. An American woman, Jean Curtis, loses her husband in Spain, finds comfort in caring for Xaim and Maria Aineto, motherless refugees of the Spanish Civil War, and through her devotion to them, particularly to the brave and desperate little Xaim, comes to an intense love for their poet father, Jaime.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED.

Americana Annual, 1942, New York, Americana Corporation, 1942. 814 p.

BEVERLY-GIDDINGS, A. R. *Larrish Hundred.* New York, William Morrow, 1942. 282 p.

Britannica Book of the Year, 1942. Chicago, Encyclopedia Britannica, 1942. 756 p.

CHURCH, ARCHIE O. *History of the 4-H Movement in West Virginia.* Morgantown, West Virginia, West Virginia University, Thesis, 1942. 68 p.

Current Biography, 1941. . . New York, H. W. Wilson, 1941. 976 p.

DUFF, MARGARET ISOBEL. *Rose Petals . . .* n. p., 1941. 95 p.

HARRISON, FAIRFAX. *The Virginia Carys.* New York, The DeVinne Press, 1919. 194 p.

HOLT, HOMER A. *State Papers and Public Addresses.* Charleston, Jarrett Printing Company, 1941. 639 p.

HULL, IRA S. History of the Frankford Methodist Church. Mimeographed, 1941. 23 p.

Lincoln Library of Essential Information. Buffalo, Frontier Press, 1941. 2174 p.

MORROW, MRS. N. R. C. *Golden Years in Retrospect.* Charleston, Charleston Printing Company, 1942. 244 p.

Rand McNally Commercial Atlas, 1942. New York, Rand McNally, 1942. 545 p.

RIGGS, HENRY EARLE. *Our Pioneer Ancestors,* vol. 2. Ann Arbor, Published by the Author, 1942. 230 p.

VIRKUS, FREDERICK ADAMS, ed. *The Compendium of American Genealogy,* vol. 7. Chicago, Institute of American Genealogy, 1942. 1040 p.

WATERMAN, K. M. UTTER. *Nicholas Utter.* Westerly, Rhode Island, Utter Company, 1941. 176 p.

WEST VIRGINIA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY. *Silurian System of West Virginia,* by Herbert P. Woodward. Morgantown, West Virginia, West Virginia Geological Survey, 1941. 326 p.

WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY. *Inventory of the Church Archives of West Virginia: Presbyterian Churches.* Charleston West Virginia, Historical Records Survey, 1941. 301 p.

WOOD, LEONORA W. *Abraham Lincoln: Fatalist, Skeptic, Etc.* Piedmont, West Virginia, Herald Printing Company, 1942. 51 p.

Contributors

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., for biographical sketch see Volume III, page 182.

R. WOODROW CASTLE attended Fairmont State Teachers College, Fairmont, West Virginia, from September, 1937, to August, 1939. In the fall of 1939, he enrolled at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater, Oklahoma. In July 1940, he was a lecturer on economic geography at the College of the City of New York. He returned to West Virginia and registered in the College of Arts and Sciences, West Virginia University, at Morgantown, in September, 1940. He was graduated from West Virginia University (A.B.) in 1941. While at the University Mr. Castle was reader and assistant to Dr. Charles H. Ambler, Department of History. At present, he is Research Assistant on the Historical Records Survey, Huntington, West Virginia.

J. HENRY FRANCIS, while not a native-born West Virginian, or even of these United States, has lived for over fifty years in the country of his adoption (and naturalized), and for the past forty years, with the exception of one winter in Detroit, has resided in this State. Which, by all odds, is the major portion of his life, even in years. Therefore, considering the active part he has taken in the work for Music Education in that time, should be accorded a fair and sympathetic hearing on such matters, and in the line of patriotic opinion.

His early education, of course, was acquired in the land of his birth, England, and his first efforts in music were attempted there. But it was not until after he came to the States (New Bedford, Massachusetts), that he took up his profession seriously. Under private teachers, he commenced the study in earnest of the piano, voice, organ, harmony, and choirtraining; coming to West Virginia as Choirmaster and Organist of St. John's Church, Charleston, with some seven or eight years of experience.

In the Spring of 1903, he started his first work with the pupils in music in the Charleston Public Schools, and is now engaged as Director of Music Education in the schools of Kanawha County.

He has served as Chairman of the Music Section of the State Education Association, and later, when that group organized, as President of the West Virginia Music Educators Association.

He is a Past President of the Southern Conference for Music Education, and a recognized worker in the National Conference.

He holds the degree of L. Mus., Windsor College (Canada), and M. Mus. and Mus. Doc., from Capitol College of Oratory and Music, and is acknowledged as a composer of songs, piano, and choral music and a writer on the several phases of Music Education.

CHARLES H. AMBLER, for biographical sketch see Volume II, page 93.

CARROL H. QUENZEL, for biographical sketch see Volume II, page 263.

CECILE R. GOODALL is a native of West Virginia, and received her elementary education in the Charleston Public Schools. She is a graduate of West Virginia University (A.B., and M.A.), and has studied law at the University of Colorado, Boulder. In 1938, she attended the summer sessions at Cambridge University, Cambridge, England. At present, she is a member of the faculty of the Charleston High School, and is editor of *The Kanawha Teacher*, official organ of the Kanawha County School System.

Miss Goodall is a life member of the National Education Association, and since 1937 has served as Director of the National Association of Journalism Directors for the Southeastern Section, one of the Departments of NEA. She has also served as a member of the National Education Association's Dynamic Committee. She is a Past President of the West Virginia Association of Journalism Directors.

Since May, 1941, she has served as Executive Secretary of the West Virginia Historical Society and as the editor of its quarterly, *West Virginia History*.

Miss Goodall is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Kappa Delta Pi, and Delta Kappa Gamma.

Editor's Page

It is good to know in this time of great stress that the sons of West Virginia are not only fitted for leadership, but are given the opportunity to exercise it. A few weeks ago, when the Japanese hordes slashed through Burma and threatened to invade India, one of West Virginia's favorite sons sat at the Council table, the personal representative of our government. He had been sent to India to help untangle one of the knottiest problems of modern history and certainly one of the most serious problems of the war. It was a grave mission, and one not to be entrusted lightly; and President Franklin D. Roosevelt chose as his envoy Louis Johnson of Clarksburg, his former Assistant Secretary of War.

Although the Allies' hope of a united India failed to materialize, we know that the clear thinking, common sense, and friendly honesty of Louis Johnson bore fruit; that he left India's problem nearer solution than when he found it.

But recently, another favorite son of West Virginia became the recipient of a national honor. Dr. Charles H. Ambler, professor of history at West Virginia University, was elected President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Dr. Ambler has long been known to West Virginians as West Virginia's most outstanding historian, having contributed several scholarly volumes of state history to the bookshelves of thinking people; and it is most gratifying to his many friends and readers to learn that the nation as a whole recognizes his achievements in his chosen field. Lately his book, West Virginia Stories and Biographies, was adopted as the state textbook for West Virginia's public schools. This fact, alone, is enough to establish Dr. Ambler's leadership. To be entrusted with the plastic minds of our school children is, to our way of thinking, as great, if not greater, honor than that of being elected President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

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